









VOL. XIX.

# y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

Of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

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*PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.*

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1906.

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## CONTENTS.

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Ode on Laying the Foundation Stone of the Sanatorium for West Wales, by H.R.H. the Princess Christian, 26th April 1905. By Sir LEWIS MORRIS, M.A., Vice- President of the Society	1
The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham. By E. WILLIAMS B. NICHOLSON, M.A., Bodley's Librarian	5
The Brychan Documents. By the Rev. A. W. WADE- EVANS	18
Introductory.—Texts.—Translations.—Notes: A. The Sons of Brychan; B. The Daughters of Brychan; C. The Four Sepulchra; D. Palaeographical.	
Two Charters of Henry VII. By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER	51
A Charter to the Inhabitants of Bromfield and Yale. Charter of Henry VII to the Inhabitants of Chirkland.	
An Episode in the History of Clynnog Church. By EDWARD OWEN, Barrister-at-Law	68
The Selby Romance. An Account of the Welsh Claims to a Buckinghamshire Estate. By FRANCIS GREEN ( <i>With Illustrations.</i> )	89
Reviews and Short Notices:—	
Professor Anwyl's <i>Celtic Religion in Christian Times</i> , By ALFRED NUTT.	124
Mrs. E. M. Pritchard's <i>Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days</i> . By J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.	130

Miss L. Toulmin Smith's <i>The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland</i> . By HENRY OWEN, D.C.L. Oxon.	132
Miss Skeel's <i>The Council in the Marches of Wales</i> . By EDWARD OWEN                   ...                   ...	133
Dr. Henry Owen's " <i>The Description of Penbrokshire</i> ", Part III. By E. VINCENT EVANS   ...	137
Mr. Ernest Rhys's <i>Lays of the Round Table</i> . By W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, B.C.L., M.P.                   ...	140
Mr. J. Jones' ( <i>Myrddin Fardd</i> ) <i>Cynfeirdd Lley</i> n, 1500-1800. Gan E. VINCENT EVANS                   ...	142
Mr. John A. Randolph's <i>Welsh Abbeys</i> ...                   ...	143
Prof. John Rhys and Mr. D. Brynmor-Jones, LL.B. <i>The Welsh People</i> ...                   ...	144

# **Y Cymmrodor.**

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“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

1906.

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## **Ode**

ON LAYING

THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE SANATORIUM  
FOR WEST WALES,

BY H.R.H. THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN,

26TH APRIL, 1905.

By SIR LEWIS MORRIS, M.A. (VICE-PRESIDENT  
OF THE SOCIETY.)

---

Rejoice, be glad ! At last

The hopeless pain of premature decay,

Which saddened the long past,

Knowledge has cleared away.

Beneficent Science here descending brings

A dove on snowy wings—

Hope for despair, and for that lifelong pain

New strength and health again !

To-day, to mark the triumph that has been,

The daughter of our unforgotten Queen ;

The Sister of our King, whose kindly heart

In all his people's joys and griefs bears part ;

Not ignorant of loss, but tenderer grown

For all her heart has known ;

TO MYND  
*Ode.*  
 AMBROSE

With courtly pomp, and white-plumed pageant long  
 And her own daughter fair,  
 Welcomed by bursts of ancient Cymric song,  
 To this wild hill-side's healing temperate air  
     Comes a thrice-honoured guest ;  
 Around her range our long-descended great,  
     Our native chivalry,  
 Sprung from our Royal Tribes, when Wales was free,  
 The Magnates of our West,  
 From ivied feudal tower and knightly home,  
 Fired by deep pity, come ;  
 The thrifty Yeomen, who to-day replace  
 The old free-handed ruling race,  
 Are here, and those good ministering hands,  
 Vowed to compassion by their Lord's commands ;  
 And those kind pitiful souls, whose healing skill  
 Shrank, baffled by the immedicable ill,  
 The dread "white plague", which saps young life away  
 Ere it can burst in flower—all these to-day  
 Give aid, expending time, and toil, and wealth,  
 To guard the people's health.  
 Content, if haply tho' with failing eyes  
     They see the routed powers of evil fled  
 And sole reward of their long sacrifice,  
     Health and new hope instead.  
 Two equal forces are there, heart and mind,  
 Helpless alone, of giant strength combined ;  
 Here both shall work to mutual service bound,  
 Rejoice, give thanks, till all the echoing hills resound.  
  
 Nature unpitying stalks on deaf and blind,  
     Careless upon her course, nor taketh heed  
 For aught, beside the imperious voice of Mind,  
     Nor halts for suppliant hands, nor hearts that bleed.



Yet not long now shall wives and mothers hear,  
Sick with a boding fear,  
The tearing, racking sounds, the struggling breath,  
The harbingers of death ;  
Nor dread the too bright eye, the hectic bloom  
That speaks of early doom.  
Or later, the pale cheek, the wasted limb,  
The glittering eye grown dim ;  
But health recovered, in untainted air  
Shall smooth the brow of care.  
Be of good cheer ! 'tis Knowledge strong to aid  
That comes to succour us. Be not afraid !

Here, mid close belts of healing odorous pine,  
For shelter from keen winds and drifting rain,  
Drinking soft airs, the sufferers shall regain  
New strength, new powers, to stay life's swift decline.  
Heaven's pure breath, breathing round them day and  
night,  
Shall arm them for the fight,  
Revive again the feeble forces dim,  
And calm the fluttering heart, and nerve the faltering  
limb.

But when the flying months have eased their pain,  
Must they return again  
To the old stifling dens, at last to sink  
From very wretchedness, in lust and drink ?  
Wise law-givers ! not pitying love alone  
Can hush the sufferer's moan ;  
But Knowledge, adding to the toiler's lot  
Pure food, fit dwellings, unpolluted air,  
The blessings that are not !

How shall the weary toiler come  
To the diviner thirst for nobler things,  
To whom the long day's labour ended, brings  
No sanctities of home?  
Must those we save, again,  
Changing the ordered fare, the wise control,  
The decent life, for crowded cabins foul,  
Or the mine's choking dust; from heat to cold  
Shiver at wintry daybreaks, as of old  
Making our striving vain,  
And sicken again in body alike and soul?  
Ah! there are evils worse than death and pain!

Teach us to know Thy Will, Eternal Cause,  
And love Thy changeless laws;  
Aid us to know them as they are, indeed,  
Holding the faithful creed  
That to obey Thee is to gain, to know,  
All knowledge else below.  
This lowly house of healing which we raise,  
Rock based, with mercy for its corner-stone,  
Like those high minster spires of ancient days,  
We dedicate to Thy praise.  
Mercy Thou lovest more than sacrifice.  
May not cold winds or our oft clouded skies  
Mar this our humble work! but do Thou cheer,  
Blest Presence, Mighty Healer, always near,  
Our labouring hearts and hands, and Oh! come Life or  
Death,  
Quicken us with Thy Breath!

---

# The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham.

By E. WILLIAMS B. NICHOLSON, M.A.,

BODLEY'S LIBRARIAN.

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IN 577 Cuðwine (or Cupwine) and Ceawlin are said by Saxon chronicles to have fought the Britons at Deorham (now Dyrham, in Gloucestershire); to have slain three kings—Connmægl, Condidan, and Farinmægl; and to have taken three chesters—Gleawan ceaster, Cirencester, and Bathen ceaster. This victory was most momentous, for the capture of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath separated Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall from Wales.

Of the *provenance* of these kings Freeman says nothing; Guest and Green infer that they were the kings of the three cities, and the former thinks that “in all likelihood” Connmægl ruled Gloucester; I presume he would have given Cirencester to Condidan, and Bath to Farinmægl.

Sharon Turner and Villemarqué, Guest tells us, identify Condidan with “the Kyndylan whose death is bewailed in an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy. But it appears clearly enough from the elegy that Kyndylan was slain near Shrewsbury, and, therefore, could not possibly be the Condidan who, according to the chronicle, was slain at Deorham, in Gloucestershire”. Mr. Plummer identifies the two without remark, adding that “nothing seems to be known of the other two Welsh princes”.

If we want to get at the entire truth about these early campaigns we must not, as has been the unscientific fashion, totally ignore Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>1</sup> He tells us (xi, 8) that the head of the British kings at this time was Karetic, a lover of civil war, hateful to God and his own people. That the Saxons finding out his instability

<sup>1</sup> See my letters, "Mons Badonicus and Geoffrey of Monmouth", in *The Academy* for Mar. 14 and Apr. 11, 1896; no attempt has ever been made to answer them. Let me add the following additional remarks. Geoffrey certainly wrote the rubbish in Book vii (the prophecies of Merlin) about the "serpens Malvernica", "Totonesius aper", "Lindocolinus coluber", etc., which he meant to be applied by his readers to the troubles then going on. But the Breton element is very manifest in the following incidents:—(1) Brutus, before settling in Britain, lands at the mouth of the Loire, defeats the Pictavians, and founds the city of Tours (the future ecclesiastical metropolis of the Bretons)—i, 12, etc. (2) Maximian creates a British kingdom in Armorica under Conan Meriadoc—v, 12. (3) Hengist, in his final and fatal battle, is defeated only by a cavalry-charge of Bretons—viii, 5. (4) Arthur retreats from York to London before heavy Saxon reinforcements, but on being joined by his nephew Hoel, king of Brittany, with 15,000 Bretons, drives the Saxons to the neighbourhood of the Forth—ix, 2, etc. (5) Arthur conquers the Romans in Gaul—x. (6) Cadwallon flies to Salomon, king of Brittany, returns with 10,000 Bretons, and makes havoc of the Saxons—xii, 4, etc. (7) Cadwallader flees with his people, devastated by famine and plague, to Alan, king of Brittany—xii, 15. The Bretons were so largely derived from Cornwall and Devon that two of their four provinces were named Cornubia and Domnonia, and (8) Corineus, the eponymous hero of Cornwall, is Brutus's second in command, kills Tyrrhenian giants by threes and fours, and chooses Cornwall for his portion of Britain on account of its greater fertility in giants!—i, 12, 16; while (9) in the Roman and post-Roman times the *dux Cornubie*, or *rex Cornubie*, constantly figures as the most prominent person next to the *imperator*. Part only of the first two incidents had been given by Nennius, and that all the rest should be the mere invention of a South Welshman (whom we do not know to have ever set foot in Brittany or Cornwall) would be strange in any case. And in face of his statement that he had translated a Breton book brought him by the Archdeacon of Oxford (still alive to deny the statement if untrue) it seems to me to exceed the bounds of reasonable theorizing.

went to Godmund, Gotmund, Gormund, or Gurmund<sup>1</sup> king of the Africans (Vandals?) into Hibernia (? Hiberia, *i.e.* Spain) "in quam maximis navigiis advectus gentem patriæ subiugaverat". That the African landed with 166,000 men, attacked Karetic, after very many battles chased him from city to city, at last blockaded him in Cirencester, captured and burnt the city, beat Karetic again, and drove him beyond the Severn. And that, while he was besieging Cirencester, Isembard, grandson of Lodovic king of the Franks, came to him and entered into a treaty with him, by which he forsook his Christianity for the purpose of obtaining help to win the kingdom of Gaul from his uncle, by whom he said he had been unjustly expelled.

Now, if the whole of this story about the Africans were utter nonsense, it would still not be the nonsense that a South Welshman of the twelfth century would invent in writing a history of Britain, and, as in other parts of his work, Breton tradition is obvious. Chlodowig (Clovis), king of the Franks (who, of course, were neighbours to the Bretons), died in 511, and his grandsons were alive when the battle of Deorham was fought. In 558 his son Childebert, king of Paris, died, and the widow and two daughters were exiled by Childebert's younger brother Chlothachar. The widow may have given birth to a posthumous son, or a pretender may have claimed to be her son. Or, Isenbard may have claimed to be the great-grandson of Chlodowig, posthumous child of one of the wives of

<sup>1</sup> The uncritical printed texts before me read Gor-. The Bern MS. (Stadtbibliothek, 568) has Got-, but in 1898 I found from the make-up of the volume that, in spite of its Stephen-dedication, it was not copied *before* the end of 1170. The Welsh version also has Got-. The Bodleian MSS. vary. MS. Bodl. 514 (12th cent.) and four others have God-. The important twelfth cent. MS. Rawlinson C. 152 is very careless at this point and has the remarkable reading *Gundoforū*.

Charibert, king of Paris, who died in 567, and whose kingdom was then taken by his younger brother Chilperic. Isenbard would be an excellent Frankish name, and the promise to renounce his Christianity is explained by the fact that the Vandals were Arians. It is vastly more probable that his story has a kernel of fact than that it is an irrelevant and purposeless fable.

And now for the Vandals. In 533 their African kingdom was destroyed; some were sent to Constantinople to be drafted into the imperial army, *and the rest were to be expatriated* (Procopius, *de bell. Vand.*, ii, 19). Where were they to go? Why not to Spain,<sup>1</sup> the country from which they had come, and of which the ruling race were Teutons like themselves? It would be equally natural that their males should take service as mercenaries under the Visigoths, who were then gradually completing the conquest of the Peninsula.

It would, of course, be *conceivable* that they should migrate to Ireland, but in Irish chronicles I cannot find any trace of an invasion at this time. And in favour of my emendation *Hiberiam* it is important to add that the "Lucius *Tiberius*" of our printed texts of Geoffrey should be Lucius *Hiberus* (the Iberian), according to the weight of the MS. authority known to me. I strongly suspect that beneath the fantastic romance of Arthur's war with him there lies the memory of a struggle between the Bretons and some Aquitanian Visigoth, who claimed to represent Roman authority, and against whom Arthur may have helped them as they had helped Arthur against the Saxons and Picts.

Vortigern is said to have invited the foreign-speaking

<sup>1</sup> The eighth cent. Ravenna geographer says the race fled to Mauritania Gaditana (iii, 12) and disappeared ("nusquam comparuit"). Mauritania Gaditana is the coast nearest Spain.

Saxons to aid him in fighting the Picts and Scots; it would be more natural that the Saxons themselves should invite the aid of Vandal mercenaries, who spoke a tongue virtually identical with their own. Dr. Guest, in his paper on "The English conquest of the Severn valley" (*Arch. Camb.*, III, ix, 134), has said "there is reason to believe that about the year 571 the kings of Wessex received an accession of strength, that enabled them to carry war into the very heart of the Welsh territory". He adds, "I do not stop to inquire whence came this increase of strength". That it came from Vandal mercenaries I propose to establish by an appeal to Old English place-names.

In Anglo-Saxon we meet with the name of a people Wend(e)las, of which the genitive Wendla and dative Wendlum occur. The Bosworth-Toller dictionary queries it as either the people of Vendil (North Jutland) or the Vandals. We also have Wendelsæ as the A.S. name of the Mediterranean, presumably given to it from the Vandals, who occupied first Andalusia (=Vandalusia?), then North Africa, the Balearic isles, and Sardinia. Consequently, we may presume that the name "Vandal" in Old English place-names would appear as Wendel-, Wendl-, or Wenl-. And we find that stem in the following names:—

In *Surrey*, Wendlesuurthe, now Wandsworth.

In *Berkshire*, Wendlesore, Windlesore, now Windsor.

Wændlescumb.

In *Oxfordshire*, Wendelebur', now Wendlebury.

In *Worcestershire*, Wendlesclif.

In *Hertfordshire*, Wendlesbiri.

On the borders of *Huntingdonshire* and *Cambridgeshire*, Wenlesmere, or Wendlesmére.

These are all the instances I can find. The first five are certainly within Ceawlin's Wessex, and the remaining two *may* have been.

It has been suggested that such places may have been stations of Vandal troops under the late Roman empire. But the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* exhibits no evidence that the Romans ever brought Vandals into Britain, and I must consider the distribution of the names as arguing the essential truth of Geoffrey's tradition. It is not unimportant to add that Wendlebury in Oxfordshire is the last station before Cirencester on one of the Roman roads, and has an old Roman camp which the Vandals doubtless occupied, perhaps after first driving Karetic out of it.

Let me also call attention to two places apparently named after the Vandal leader Godmund, for in Anglo-Saxon that name is only found twice, and not before the eleventh century.

The first of these is Godmundcestre, now Godmanchester. It is less than twenty miles N.W. of Bedford, where Ceawlin's kinsman Cuthwulf fought the Britons in 571, and is the Roman Durolipons (Duroli Pons?), doubtless possessing *castra* which Godmund occupied.

The second is Godmundesleah, Godmund's Lea, the place at which a charter of 779 (Birch, *Cartularium*, no. 230) was signed. Its situation is unknown, but the land to which it relates lies on the ancient Fosse road, about fifteen miles N.W. of Cirencester, at Bourton-on-the-Water. I suspect that the name commemorates a battle fought by Godmund, and the fact that one of the boundaries is "slohtran ford"—represented by Upper Slaughter and Lower Slaughter—confirms this suspicion, though I know that M.E. *slaghter* has not been traced in Anglo-Saxon.

Remarkable, also, is the name of a place, close to Bourton, mentioned in the same charter—"urbi illi qui nominatur SULMONNES BURG".

Now, there is no Anglo-Saxon name at all like *Sulmonn*



to be found in Searle's *Onomasticon* earlier than *Domesday Book*, in which we get the name Salomon and a Salmonesberie in Sussex.

The Fosse road "passes within a few furlongs from the Village; and at about the same Distance from the Road is a Camp of a quadrangular Form, inclosing Sixty Acres, proved to have been a Roman Station, by the discovery of Coins and other Vestiges. On this Spot a Court Leet for the Hundred of *Salemansbury*, now of *Slaughter*, is annually held" (Bigland, *Co. of Gloucester*, 225). It is doubtless from this encampment that Bourton (=Burh-tún) takes its name.

That there were similar names in Old German can be seen in Förstemann—so that the absence of evidence for it in Anglo-Saxon before *Domesday* is not decisive against its having been an Anglo-Saxon name before 779. But Salomon was an undoubted Breton name, borne by a Breton king in 857-74, and, if we may believe Geoffrey's tradition, by an earlier Breton king of the seventh century. And, I suspect that, just as Arthur had (according to Geoffrey) obtained the help of a Breton force against the Saxons, so had Karetic; that its leader was named Salomon;<sup>1</sup> that he had occu-

<sup>1</sup> I suspect Salemansbury to be the Kaer Selemeion of the Triads in the *Red Book of Hergest*. In the printed text of Nennius this is Cair Celemion, with various readings, *elimon*, *eilimon*, *celemon*, *celimon*, *celimeno*, *celeimon*, *ceilimon*. Prof. Rhys tells me that Solomon is Selyf in Welsh, but in the *Book of Llan Dâr* I find also Selim, and even Salomon; probably Nennius wrote Selimon. The vv.ll. beginning *el-eil-* suggest that all the existing readings spring from a MS. in which the illuminator omitted to fill in the S, and that some copyists wrongly supplied its place with a C. Compare the genealogies of the Harleian MS. 3859, where [S]elim is written without the S, at top of nos. xxii, xxiv. Those genealogies (xxvii) mention a Selemiaun, father of Catel; but this Catel, though he became a king, is said to have been originally only a king's servant (*Hist. Brit.*, 35), so it is doubtful whether a Caer could be named after his father.

pied the old Roman camp; that with him had come over the Frankish refugee Isenbard; that they had combined in an attempt to draw off Godmund to France; but that Isenbard shocked the Bretons by offering to become Arian. That would explain very simply how this unique information got into the Breton tradition which is at the bottom of Geoffrey's book.

The supposed number of the Vandals is, of course, absurd, but even that may contain the germ of the truth. It may have been originally written MCLXVI, *i.e.* 1166, and M may have been misinterpreted as = *millia*. If anyone thinks this too small a reinforcement to be effective, let me mention two facts. (1) Anglo-Saxon chronicles state that in the battle of 508 the British king had 5,000 with him, as if this were a very large number (compared at least with the Saxon strength). (2) In 655 the South Mercians were only 5,000 families, and the North Mercian land supported only 7,000 families<sup>1</sup> (Bede, *H.E.*, iii, 24)—a total for both kingdoms which represents little more than the present population of Oxford. In such times the addition of 1166 trained mercenaries, probably skilled in unfamiliar modes of fighting which would confuse their opponents, would be a most important gain to the West Saxons.

The Vandals would naturally land from Southampton Water, and I suspect that they were imported as early as 568, and that their first settlement was at Windsor. In that year Wessex defeated Kent at Wibban dun, supposed to be Wimbledon, near the banks of the Thames; and Wendlesuurthe, now Wandsworth, is on the river-bank only two or three miles distant. I am aware that Wandsworth is on the Wandle, but no other stream seems to bear that name, and I suspect that its Saxon style

<sup>1</sup> I do not know if Britons are included, whether as independent families or as serfs attached to English families.

(which has not come down to us) meant "the Vandal stream", *i.e.*, the stream on which the Vandals had settled.

In 571, Cuthwulf fought the Britons at Bedford. It would doubtless be from the events of this expedition that Wendlesbiri in Hertfordshire, Godmundcestre in Huntingdonshire, and Wendlesmere<sup>1</sup> on the borders of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, got their names.

In the same year Cuthwulf struck West, and captured Bensington and Eynsham in Oxfordshire, and it may have been then that Wændlescumb was occupied by the Vandals. It lay just opposite Oxford, in the Boar's Hill neighbourhood.

Wendlebury in Oxfordshire was probably occupied in 577, in the march on Cirencester, and Wendlesclif in Worcestershire either in the same year (after the capture of Gloucester), or a later year, perhaps 584, when Ceawlin apparently advanced North to Faddiley in Cheshire.

The question remains what became of these Vandals? Geoffrey's text applies to them (xi, 8) words used by Gildas (24) of much earlier invaders, and, later on (xi, 10), represents Godmund as wasting nearly the entire isle, and giving the greater part of it, called Loegria (*L[l]oegr* is Welsh for *England*), to the Saxons.

My own suspicion is that the Vandals became incorporated with the Saxons. That they left descendants in England seems to me morally certain, if not from the name of Wendling in Norfolk, at any rate from that of Wendingburh (now Wellingborough) in Northamptonshire. And the name of Godmunddingaham, now Goodmanham, which is found as early as Bede (*H. E.*, ii, 13), suggests

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether this means Vandal's boundary, or Vandal's lake: see the context in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, 904, with *mére* "boundary", and the map with various *meres* (*e.g.*, Whittlesey Mere) in the particular district.

that even so far north as Yorkshire there was a family which claimed the Vandal leader as progenitor.<sup>1</sup>

Let me now deal with the names of the British kings said to have been killed at Deorham.

Conmægl ("Great Hound") I strongly suspect to have reigned in Merioneth. His name would be Cynfael in modern Welsh. There is an Afon Gynfael, "Cynfael river", at Ffestiniog, doubtless so called because it flows past the two farms Cynfael Mawr, "Great Cynfael", and Cynfael Bach, "Little Cynfael". Doubtless, also, those farms are called (*more Celtico*) because they belonged to a man named Cynfael. Finally, some seven or eight miles south-west is a "Cynfael's Summer-residence", Hafod Gynfael. It is on the high undulating table-land from which descend the so-called "Roman steps" to Llyn Cwm Bychan, and only half a mile from them. Whether the steps are Roman or not, I have no experience to decide; from their rudeness I should have guessed them to be post-Roman. I believe they were meant to assist the carrying up of supplies from the lowlands, perhaps also from Llanbedr harbour,<sup>2</sup> and they may have been made by Conmægl himself, or one of his predecessors. The fact that his name is spelt Con- and not Cun-, Cin-, or Cyn-, leads me to suspect that he was a Goidel.

"Condidan" I, with Turner, Villemarqué, and Plummer, believe to represent Kyndylan, who was not really killed till about 584. If a man is carried off the field wounded, his enemies may very easily believe him to be

<sup>1</sup> There was a heathen temple here about 617, but Bede only says "et vocatur hodie Godmunddingaham".

<sup>2</sup> That there was a Roman officer close to Llanbedr harbour is suggested by the fact that inside the walls of the neighbouring church of Llandanwg is a Roman inscription, probably of the third century, of which only the words *equestri nomine* are left.

dead. His domain was in Shropshire, in the region of Viriconium (Wroxeter), and him, too, I believe to be a Goidel. Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans tells me that the celebrated elegy on his death, attributed to the sixth century poet, Llywarch Hen, contains no really old Welsh; but it is difficult to read the English translation (*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, 448) without feeling that a sixth century tradition, transmitted either in verse or in prose, underlies the whole of it, and that it may be a later mediaeval recast of a genuine sixth century poem.

Assuming this identification, an earlier Anglo-Saxon form was doubtless Condulan, misread as Condidan. That again suggests that all the Anglo-Saxon chronicles containing this entry descended from a single MS., the exemplar of which employed upright *d*. Had it employed only *ð*, a scribe could hardly misread that *ð* into an *l*. From the Con- I suspect this king also to have been a Goidel. "Dilann" might mean "landless" either in Irish or in Welsh: in Irish also "swordless". The name of his sister Freur, mentioned in the Elegy, is (from its initial *F*) almost certainly not Welsh, and looks like an Irish compound in *fre*:- as Welsh habitually changes *ō* to *ū*, I suggest that Freur = *fre* or *fri* *ór*, "comparable to gold", "Golden".

"Farinmægl"—for which the Parker MS. gives the later form *Farin mail*—represents the Fernmail of Welsh genealogies, and means "[He-of-the] Great Shield". It is, however, Goidelic beyond the smallest doubt, because Nennius (49) gives it as the name of a king then living, and when he wrote (about 796) the initial *V*, which gives *F* in Irish, had become *Gu* in Welsh.<sup>1</sup>

Another king Fernmail died in 775 (*Ann. Camb.*), and

<sup>1</sup> In the Elegy itself we have *penngvern* (more correctly *separatim* in *Llys benn gvern*), where *gvern* = original *verno*-, Irish *fern*.

a third was contemporary with Ælfred. All three ruled in South Wales, and, knowing no other instance of the name, I conjecture that the king who was killed at Deorham came from the same region.

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POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was written, Mr. F. M. Stenton, in *The English Historical Review* for October 1905, has proposed to identify “Godmundes leah” with Gumley in Leicestershire: it is found in *Domesday* as Godmundelai and Gutmundeslea,<sup>1</sup> and is about five miles north-west of Market Harborough. If the identification is correct, it suggests a considerable extension of the Vandal leader’s progress in the East Midlands. But I somewhat hesitate to accept it, for the following reasons:—

Of the three charters dated thence,<sup>2</sup> one is of purely general import, while both the others relate to land in the neighbourhood of Bourton-on-the-Water, in Gloucestershire, and one of them (that of 779) was written at “Iorotla Forda”, said to be “Hartleford, co. Glouc.”, which I guess to be Harford (formerly Hartford), near Slaughter.

Mr. Bradley gravely doubts that in “slohtran ford” we have before us an A. S. form of *slaughter*; since neither W. Saxon nor Mercian should have had the *o*. Still, a ford is just the place where one expects an enemy to

<sup>1</sup> In 1426 “Gromondesley”. The corruption of God- to Got- and Gor- in Geoffrey of Monmouth is well illustrated by these forms, and by “Gorman’s Pond” at Godmanchester (Fox’s *Godmanchester*, 53). Palaeographical confusion is easy between early forms of *od* and *ot*, *ot* and *or*.

<sup>2</sup> One of 749 has the impossible form “Godmundeslaech”, obviously corrupted from -leah. One of 772 has “Godmundes leas” (pl. of *leah*); it relates to land at Evenlode.

be cut up, and there is also a Slaughterford only five or six miles east of Dyrham.

Whether the invaders marched from Wendlebury on Cirencester by the direct ancient road, or came down on the city by the Foss Way (driving the Britons out of Bourton-on-the-Water and cutting them up at Slaughter), there is little difficulty in realizing the rest of the campaign—especially if we assume that the main road from Bath to Stroud and Gloucester was then existing.

The Britons, driven out of Cirencester, struck for the line of this road, which would enable them to move either north to protect Gloucester, or south to protect Bath. The invaders marched on Bath by the direct ancient road from Cirencester. The Britons on their own line also moved south to Dyrham, five miles north of Bath, where they occupied the ancient camp of which traces remain. A few miles further they would have reached the strong defensive position of Sulisbury Hill, above Bath—but the Saxons marched across from the other road and attacked them. After the battle the Welshmen made for the Aust ferry over the Severn, or for Gloucester, while possibly there was a Wiltshire contingent which made eastward for its own country, and was pursued and cut up at Slaughterford: on the other hand, the latter name may have no connexion with this campaign. The invaders, having occupied Bath, turned north to Gloucester (which probably surrendered without serious resistance), and thus acquired a footing over the mouth of the Severn valley, to be used a little later as the starting-point of a further invasion northwards.

If my suggested derivation of Kyndylan's name is correct, it should apparently be written Con Dilann.

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# The Brychan Documents.

By A. W. WADE-EVANS.

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NOTWITHSTANDING either their supreme value, or even their brevity, it is for the first time that the attempt is now made to print these two tracts with that approximation to accuracy which modern science demands. Indeed, so supreme is their value that this fact would be a marvel and a mystery in the story of historical research, were it not that primarily they are only of Welsh interest, so that (needless to say) no marvel or mystery whatsoever is involved.

The *De situ Brecheniauc* manuscript is supposed to have been written in the early part of the thirteenth century by a scribe ignorant of Welsh, and from a MS. as old at least as the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The *Cognacio Brychan* manuscript was written by a seventeenth century hand, apparently from a document of the thirteenth century, as Mr. Phillimore judges from the archaic spelling of Welsh words. This seventeenth century scribe had also before him the actual copy of the *De Situ* which we are using, and from it he adds not only the marginal and interlineal notes which appear in our printed *Cognacio*, but also two pages of transcription not here reproduced. It is clear, therefore, that the two tracts are independent of one another, although

<sup>1</sup> See *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, pp. 105-6, by Mr. Egerton Phillimore ; also, the *Archiv. f. celtische Lexikographie*, ii, 516, etc., by Mr. Alfred Auscombe.



a comparison shews that they are both drawing from some common original, which appears to have been so archaic to somebody, both in matter and expression, that he had to interpret it as best he could, according to the ideas of his own time and place. Their general arrangement is identical, whilst, as Mr. Anscombe has pointed out, they give "the names of Brychan's children in practically the same order".

The monks, who founded the oldest churches in Wales and the Devonian peninsula (which two districts together were known as "Britannia"), were closely connected with the ruling families. Of these, three were chosen as specially prominent and typical, during that period when the triadic method of systematizing knowledge gained acceptance. The Triad reads as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

Tair gwelygordd Saint Cymru : plant Brychan ; a phlant Cunedda Wledig ; a phlant Caw o Brydyn.

The Three Stocks of the Saints of Cymru : the children of Brychan, and the children of Cunedda Wledig, and the children of Caw of Prydyn.

It must be remembered, however, that there were other families besides these, which will be found enumerated in the *Bonedd y Saint*.<sup>2</sup> In this important document, the family of Cunedda takes a leading place, that of Caw a minor, and that of Brychan no place at all. Into the probable or possible causes of this fact we need not now enter, but a chief cause, or perhaps a chief result, is this, that the House of Brychan has a document of its own, now represented by the *De Situ* and the *Cognacio*. These

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, Peniarth MS. 129, fo. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See *Myvyrian Archaeology* (1801), vol. ii, pp. 23-5 ; *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, 133 ; and Anscombe's "Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies" in *Archiv. f. celt. Lexik.*, ii, 147-196.

two tracts, therefore, rank with the *Bonedd* itself as authority of the first class.

The most striking feature about the traditions of Brychan is the large progeny attributed to him. It has been suggested that there were many Brychans, or that the children enumerated include later generations. Large families, however, are also ascribed to others, such as Caw of Twrkelyn and Clechre,<sup>1</sup> whilst it must be remembered that even as late as the thirteenth century Welsh law made no distinction between children born in and out of wedlock.<sup>2</sup> This last custom, so repulsive to ecclesiastical ideas, points back to a time when no such distinction existed, even in thought. Indeed, it is a well-established fact that marriage, as we understand it to-day, was not so understood in and before the fifth century in Britannia. There is no need here to refer to such evidence as that of Cæsar, Dion Cassius, the monumental inscriptions, the *Mabinogion*, the Pictish succession, and so forth,<sup>3</sup> but attention may be drawn to the evidence afforded by the very important work known as *Epistola Gildæ*, written before 502 A.D.<sup>4</sup> This epistle opens with an attack on the

<sup>1</sup> See Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> See Rhys' and Jones' *Welsh People*, p. 36, etc.; Mr. Willis Bund in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January 1905; and especially *La Famille Celtique*, by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (Paris, 1905).

<sup>4</sup> This *Epistola*, beginning with the words "Reges habet Britannia" in ch. 27, must be carefully distinguished from the preceding twenty-six chapters, which are not by Gildas at all, but constitute a distinct work known as *Excidium Britannicæ*, written by an anonymous "Roman" Britannus, somewhere near the mouth of the Severn, about the year 690. I have dealt with this subject in the *Celtic Review* (Edinburgh), for April, July, and October, 1905, in which last will be found a tentative map of Britannia in Britain from 424-5 (when Vortigern began to reign in S.E. Wales) to 577, the date of the

five leading Kings of Britannia, who were ruling in *cir.* 500, and it is a striking fact that in every case save that of the "Roman", Aurelius Caninus, a specific charge concerned with the violation of the ecclesiastical ideas of matrimony, is brought forward. Constantine of Devon puts away his legitimate wife and is given to successive deeds of adultery. Vortipore of Dyfed, defiled by adulteries, puts away his wife and marries his own daughter, just like Vortigern did in *cir.* 429.<sup>1</sup> Cynlas drives away his wife and meditates marrying her sister, although a nun; and Maelgwn Gwynedd himself, the great head of the House of Cunedda, abandons his first wife and marries that of his nephew, although that nephew is still living. Even Aurelius is ecclesiastically described as "swallowed up in the filth of adulteries", whilst the general charge of polygamy is brought against them all. It has hitherto been the fashion to suppose that these kings were sinners above all others, but in the light of independent and abundant

crushing defeat of the Britanni at Deorham. It will be observed that I differ *in toto* from the view expressed by Prof. Hugh Williams of Bala in his edition of *Gildas* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), a work, however, to which I am exceedingly indebted, and for whose author I have the profoundest admiration and respect. I may also take the present opportunity of protesting against the indiscriminate use of the terms "Goidel" and "Brython" when dealing with the inhabitants of the numerous patrias of Britannia in the immediate post-Roman period. These terms are really only proper to the technical phraseology of modern savants in the domain of *language*, and are worse than useless when used to designate *races*. The consequences are still more grotesque when they are regarded as the names by which the actual men and women in Wales fourteen hundred years ago recognised the patriotic and political groups into which they were divided. Whether members of Vortigern's kingdom in 428 spoke Goidelic or Brythonic they were none the less opposed to invasions by Brythonic speaking Picts (the Cymry), or by Goidelic speaking Scotti from Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> See Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, 180.

evidence the *Epistola Gildæ* only confirms the fact that the matrimonial arrangements of the fifth century were not those which the Church blessed, but such as defy explanation in terms of the Church's thought on such matters. What may have been adultery and shame to a partisan of a new sect full of foreign ideas, may also have been an honoured custom to those who practised it. Sunday sports, for example, were no doubt highly distasteful to Vicar Pritchard and the new Puritanism, but were at the same time harmless enough to their opponents of the High Church. St. Gildas, like Vicar Pritchard, represented a new movement, that of monasticism, which spread from Gaul and St. Martin of Tours. Whatever the Christianity in Britannia may have been before the fifth century, it certainly was not that of Gildas. And although this ascetic movement from Gaul effected in Wales as mighty a change as Methodism did a millennium and a quarter later, yet the Laws of Hywel testify that there prevailed throughout Wales, at least as late as the eleventh century, matrimonial institutions which were notoriously opposed to the ideas of the Church.

We have seen that Welsh law made no distinction between children born in and out of wedlock, but far more vital than this is the fact that the dissolution of marriage ties is incredibly easy. "Practically, either husband or wife might separate whenever one or both chose."<sup>1</sup> And if all this prevailed in the Wales of the eleventh century and later, surely the *milieu* of the fifth century must be to us singularly strange.

We must, therefore, be prepared to find underlying these two tracts archaic matters concerned with marriage and descent. We must be prepared to find late scribes en-

<sup>1</sup> Rhys' and Jones' *Welsh People*, 212.

deavouring to explain the inexplicable according to their own ideas. They will be obviously astonished at the number of children attributed to Brychan, and we shall see them tripping in making three wives out of the three forms of the one name, Prawst. They will, of course, explain the birth of Cynog as illegitimate, whose descent from Banadylfed is too historical to deny, and on which perhaps depend certain rights pertaining to Cynog's foundations. The story of Marchell will be also perplexing, questions arising at every step. Why did she leave her own patria to find a husband? Why did royal Anlach quit his own realm? Why was it that Marchell's son inherited the kingdom? Explanations will be given, and the actual facts perhaps distorted, for us to dispute about and to trip miserably in our turn.

All this places the question of the numerous progeny of Brychan in a new light. And, under its influence, we ought to hesitate considerably before making this or that assumption in order to get rid of a very perplexing difficulty. It is with this as with every other historic tradition; until it can be disproved in a truly scientific way it must be accepted as a fact.

I regret that owing to the extreme length of the lines in the *De Situ* we have been compelled to resort to the upright stroke to indicate the points where they begin and end. For a similar reason we have also been compelled to divide some of the lines in the *Cognacio*. The figure in the right margin is the number of that line which contains the particular word opposite it.

*Ty Rhôs, Fishguard.*

## TEXTS.

## DE SITV BRECHENIAVC.

[*British Museum. Cottonian Collection. Vespasian A, xiv, 106-116.*]

BRECHENIAVC: primum a Brachano DE SITV 1  
 BRECHENIAVC | nomen accepit. In initio temporum: 2  
 erat Teuderic rex illius regionis | Qui quondam uenit in 3  
 Garth matrum indeque perrexit cum ducibus et senio- |  
 ribus nec non et omni familia sua abiitque ad Bran coyn 4  
 iuxta Lann | Maies. Teuderic uero dixit ad Marchel filiam 5  
 suam. Algoris uis aprime nos | affligit. Quamobrem 6  
 opereprecium est: quatinus pelliciam uestem nate mee 7  
 conquiramus | ne ipsa frigoris asperitate grauetur. transmit- 8  
 tam enim eam in hiberniam cum tre- | centis hominibus ad 9  
 Anlac filium Coronac regem illius patrie que sibi maritetur. |  
 Profecta est igitur Marchel cum trecentis hominibus in 10  
 Lan Semin: ibidemque prima | nocte per frigoris grauedine. 11  
 e. homines mortui sunt. Secunda uero nocte uenit in |  
 Methrum: illoque totidem quot superius exspirauerunt. 12  
 Tercia quidem nocte descen- | dit in Port Maur: in loco 13  
 scilicet apricio. Deinceps autem cum . c . uiris | sibi 14  
 relictis ad hiberniam transfretauit: et ad Anlac regem 15  
 eiusdem patrie cum suis | incolumis peruenit. Qui cum 16  
 magno tripudio et leticia illam suscipiens: | in legitimam 17  
 coniugem eandem sibi desponsauit. illi iusiurandum prebens. |  
 si eidem filium peperisset: cum eadem Britanniam remearet. 18  
 ne uidelicet puer | patrio regno Britannie priuaretur. 19  
 Idem uero Anlach dedit. xii. cubiculariis | suis siue pedis- 20  
 sequas. uiris unamquamque iuxta dignitatem natalium 21  
 suorum. | Postea uero Marchel peperit filium: uocauitque 22  
 eum Brachan. Regressus | est ergo Anlach cum Marchel 23  
 Regina et Brachan puero. et ducibus sub- | scriptis. Kerniol. 24  
 et Alio Fernach. Inde dicitur Enifernach. Tercio Lith

mi | lich . Jnde dicitur Maiuaur oper birnich. Quarto 22  
 Lounoic . Natus est Brachan | in Benni : ' directusque est 23  
 ad Drichan . Jnde dicitur Din Drichan . Jpfe autem  
 Drichan : ' | educavit Brachan . Jnde ducitur Brachan 24  
 Brecheniauc : ' cum . iiii<sup>or</sup>. annos | etatis haberet . Jn . vii<sup>o</sup>. 25  
 uero anno dixit Drichan ad Brachan . Affer mihi lan- | ceam 26  
 meam ad me. Drichan autem in fine etatis sue cecus factus  
 est Et dum idem | uigilans iacisset . quidam aper uenit 27  
 de filua stetitque iuxta ripam flu | minis Jfchir . Ceruusque 28  
 retrosum erat in flumine necnon sub uenire | cerui piscis 29  
 erat que tria portendebant Brachan opulentie copia |  
 felicem futurum . Adhuc etiam fagus secus fluminis predicti 30  
 litus stabat . inqua | mellificabant apes . Dixitque Drichan 31  
 alumpno suo Brachan . Ecce hanc | arbozem de apibus et 32  
 melle . auro quoque et argento plenam do tibi . et gratia dei |  
 eiusque dilectio tecum maneat semper hic et infuturo. 33  
 Postea uero Anlach | dedit filium suum Brachan regi powis 34  
 obfidem . Deinceps uero successu tem- | poris Brachan 35  
 oppressit Banadlinet filiam Benadel . Jlla autem pregnant : ' |

fol. 11 a.

genuit filium nomine kynauc . Qui deuctus ad castra bap- 1  
 tiza tus est Quo | facto Brachan accepta armilla abrachio suo 2  
 dedit illam kynauc | filio suo . Ille sanctus kynauc celebris est 3  
 ualde in patria sua Brecheniauc . | Jpsaque armilla . usque in 4  
 presens perpreciosis reliquiis in predicta prouincia | seruatur. 5  
**H**ec est genealogia sancti kynauc filii Brachan . Brachan |  
 filius Marchel . Marchel filia Teuderic . Teudiric filius 6  
 Teudfall . Teudfall | filius Teuder . filius Teudfal . Teudfal 7  
 filius Annhun rex grecorum . **H**ec sunt | nomina filiorum 8  
 Brachan de Brecheniauc . Rein filius Brachan . Clýtguin.  
 filius | Brachan . qui inuasit totam terram Sudgwalliæ. 9  
 Clýdouc sanctus . et Dedýu sanctus filii | illius Clýtguein. 10  
 Arthen filius Brachan . Papay . filius Brachan . Kýnon.  
 filius Brachan . | qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predictæ 11

Mannie . Dýnigat . *filius Brachan* . | Paschen *filius Brachan* . 12  
 Chýbliuer . *filius Brachan* . *Inde dicitur* Merthýr Cheb-  
 liuer . | Berwin . *filius Brachan* . Jn Cozwallia . <sup>.i. Judoc</sup> Ryðoch *filius* 13  
 Brachan . infrancia . Jnde dicitur | ton Ridoch Wîndouith . | <sup>.i. euruf de vent .</sup> 14

**D**E *filiabus Brachan* . Gladus *filia Brachan* : Mater *sancti*  
 Cadoci . Tudeuel | *filia Brachan* . Jn Merthir 15  
 Euineil . Goleu . *filia Brachan* . Jn Lan eschin . | Hunýd . 16  
*filia Brachan* . que iacet sub petra Meltheu . que fuit 17  
<sup>.i. memorie</sup>  
 uxor Tu- | dual flauí . mater Cunin cof . Tudhiftil . *filia* 18  
*Brachan* . Jnde dicitur Merthir | Tudhiftil . Tibýei . *filia* 19  
*Brachan* . Jn Cantrebochan . Kehingayr . *filia Brachan* . |  
 Mater *Sancti* Kenider de Glefbýri . Meleri . *filia Brachan* . 20  
 uxor Keredic . et | Mater Sant . Sant autem : pater fuit *Sancti* 21  
 Daud . Tutglid . *filia Brachan* | uxor kenken filii kenwaur . 22  
<sup>.i. cum dentibus</sup>  
 Cadcathuc . mater Cadel . et Brochuail | ſchitrauc . et Mater 23  
 Jeuab . et Mater Meigh . et Mater Sanand . que Sanant | fuit 24  
 uxor Mahelgun Regif Nordwalie . Aranwen . *filia Brachan*  
 Jn po- | wif . uxor Gereuerth Regif de powif . Jnde dicitur 25  
 Jozerthiaun . Bethan . | *filia Brachan* . Jn Mannia . Luan . 26  
<sup>.i. Infidiosi.</sup>  
*filia Brachan* . Mater Haidani bradouc . | kerdých . *filia* 27  
*Brachan* . que iacet Inthýwin Jn Merioneth . Nyuein | *filia* 28  
*Brachan* . uxor kenuarchcul filii Meirchiaun . Mater  
 Vruoni . | Matríf Euerdil . Matríf Eſtedieh . uxor Elidir 29  
<sup>.i. magne familie .</sup>  
 cofcozuaur . | et Mater Gurgi et Peredur . Guaur *filia Brachan* . 30  
<sup>.i. ueterif.</sup>  
 uxor Lidanwen . et Mater | Loarch hen . Gurýcon Godheu . 31  
*filia Brachan* uxor Cathraut calchuy- | uid Marchel . *filia* 32  
<sup>.i. truncate barbe</sup>  
*Brachan* . uxor Gurind barmbtruch . de Merionyth . | Guen . 33  
*filia Brachan* . Jntalgarth . Belyau . *filia Brachan* . Eiliueth .



i. Jn agere lacuf caltionif  
 filia | Brachan . ygruge gozf auail . kein . filia Brachan 34  
 .i. Jn bifurgatione illius flunij .  
 ythraul ogmor . | keneýthon filia Brachan . Jn ý minid 35  
 cheuoz Jn Kedweli . Clýdei . filia |

fo. 11 b.

.i. Jnanglefe

Brachan est Jn Emelin . Duýn . filia Brachan est Jn Monia . 1  
 Jhud . filia | Brachan ¶ Sepulchrum Brachan : est Jninfula 2  
 que uocatur enyibrachan . | que est iuxta Manniam . ¶ Sepul- 3  
 chrum Rein filii Brachan . Jn Landeuailac . | ¶ Sepulchrum 4  
 k(a)nauic . Merthir Jn Brecheniauc . ¶ Sepulchrum . | An- 5  
 lauch . ante hostium ecclesie Lanefpetit . ¶ Tref uxores  
 habuit | Brachan . Prauft scilicet . et Ribrauft . et Proiftri . | 6  
 Hec est progenies . keredic Regif de keredigan . Dewi filius 7  
 Sant . | Sant filii keredic . filii Cuneda . Auan buelh . filius 8  
 kedic . filii eiusdem | keredic . Pedýr Lanwaur . filius 9  
 Corin . filii keredic . kenider Gell . | filius kýnon . filii kere- 10  
 dic . Gunlýu filius Guaur . filie keredic . Gugan | Cledy- 11  
 burdh filius Lauch filii Lucho . filii kedich . filii keredic .  
 Jua . filia | keredic . karánouc filius keredic . Dýuennen . 12  
 filius Anhun . filii keredic . | keneu sanctus filii Corun filii 13  
 keredic . Gugan filius Samfon . filii keredic . | Dogmael 14  
 sanctus filius Jthaeil . filius keredic . Tydiuc sanctus filius  
 Corun filii keredic .

# COGNACIO BRYCHAN.

[British Museum. Cottonian, Domitian I.]

fo. 157 b.

Cognacío Brychan vnde brecheynía

we dicta est pars demetie .i. futh Wallie

Teudric Rex in Garthmathrím venit vsque ad 3  
 Bryncoyn iuxta Lanmaes cum ducibus et senioribus et  
 omni familia sua habens vnicam filiam nomine Marchel  
 cui et dixit. Timeo de salute tua propter instantem 6  
 Pestilentiam que aggrauat nos ad quam vitandam dicta

- Marchel habuit quasi perizoma de corio animalis . opinio enim  
erat quod quicumque circumdaret lumbos suos corio 9  
*alias propter*  
animal[is] quod vitaret interitum ex pestilencia propterea  
frigus  
proficiscere in hiberniam si forte respiciat deus votum  
meum ut queas vivere. Et assignavit pater Sibi 12  
trecentos homines et xij puellas filias Architidlini  
vice pedissequarum qui omnes conducerent eandem illuc.  
Pergens autem Marchell prima nocte recepit hospitium 15  
apud llanfemyn et mortui sunt ibi illa nocte  
Centum homines . que mane surrexit execrans locum sedis  
illius profecta est anxia tam de periculo quam de verecundia 18  
*alias Methrum*  
et secunda nocte peruenit in Madrum et sicut prius mortui  
sunt ibi Centum homines. Mane quantocius surgens  
Porth mawr loco videlicet apriori  
tercia nocte in Porthmaur et internicie hominum vitata 21  
cum Centum hominibus et pedissequis suis venit in  
hiberniam cuius aduentu comperto occurrit ei  
Aulach filius Gornuc Rex loci illius cum nullo 24  
apparatu sicut decuit regem. Et causa adventus  
illius cognita beatus est Rex Anlach et  
suscepit eam in coniugium tum propter pulcritu- 27  
dinem tum propter cognacionem eius quia filia Regis  
Et iuravit Rex Anlach quod cum ea rediret  
in britanniam si filium de ea posset suscipere 30  
Et maritavit Rex Anlach dictas xij<sup>cem</sup>  
*alias xij cubicularijs suis* fo. 158a.  
puellas tradens vnamquamque earum matrimonio Et factum  
est per  
circulum dierum ut marchell conaperet et peperit filium cui  
pater  
imposuit nomen Brachan. Cum vero Brachan esset 3  
duorum annorum adduxerunt eum parentes eius in Britan-  
niam et

morati sunt in Benny. Et suscepit puerum Drichan  
nutriendum et fuit cum eo vij annis. Postea orta guerra inter  
Reges dedit eum pater suus oblidem regi de Powys nomine  
Banadyl quo dum moram traheret oppressit filiam dicti regis  
vocatam Banadylued *que concepit et peperit filium quem*  
fecit deportari ad sanctum Gastayn cuius nunc ecclesia fita est  
iuxta maram qui baptizavit eum vocatus nomen eius  
Kynaucum Cognouerunt autem omnes ex peleo et armilla quo  
erat indutus Kynauc quod filius Brichan erat. Hec gene-  
ologia

eius Kynaucus filius brachan filij Anlach filij Gornuc  
filij eurbre de hibernia et hoc ex parte patris. Ex parte  
matris brichan filius Marchel filie Teudric filij

tendfall                      Tendeic                      Tendfall                      Annhun  
Teithphal filij Teithrin filij Tathal filii Annun nigri  
regis grecorum. Postea succrescente Brachan virtutibus  
quieuit bellum et pax inter reges reformata est. Aliquanto  
temporis interuallo mortuus est pater eius Anlach

Qui dum aspiraret ad regnum parentum conuenit cum  
nobilioribus regni de hereditate sua habenda Qui  
videntes industriam elegantiam generositatem tantam  
in eo fulgentem fullimauerunt eum in regem Qui cum  
nobilitate rexisset et summo moderamine regnum adeptum  
disposuisset copulauit sibi tres vxores successiue

alias Prawft  
quarum nomina sunt hec Eurbrauft Rybrauft et Proeftri  
de quibus magnam sobolem procreauit videlicet xiiij<sup>cem</sup>  
filios quorum nomina sunt hec . Kynauc . Reín . Vrem.

alias Clitguin  
Rud qui post patrem suum regnauit Clytwyn  
orefgynnaud deheubarth Qui pater erat sanctorum

fo. 158b.

Clydauc et dettu. Arthen qui erat pater kynon  
qui est in manan Papay Run ipse sanctus ycallet in  
manan Marthaerun apud Keueilauc. Vingat apud

- llandeuery qui erat pater pascent. Kyfliuer ab eo dicitur  
 Merthyr Kyfliuer Berwyn apud Cornubiam. Ridoc  
 gwindouut in francia inde dicitur collis Ridoc gwindouut. 6  
 Et xxiii<sup>or</sup> filias quarum nomina sunt h[ec]. Gluadis filia  
 Brachan  
 vxor gwenlluc filij glywys cornubienfis mater  
 sancti Cadoci Gloyv yn llann hefkyn ninctis tutwal 9  
 pefir Mater cunin Cof Tutbistyl ab ea dicitur Merthyr  
 Tutbytil Tvtuil ab ea dicitur Merthyr Tutuil. Tebie  
 apud yftrayowy. Keyngair mater mater kenyder fant 12  
 Meleri vxor keretici patris sancti dauit Tuglit vxor  
 Kyngain mater Cadell Arganwen apud Powys  
 Bechan apud manav lluan mater Aidan Grutauc 15  
 et mater gafran vradavc kerdech apud llandegwin  
 Nyuen vxor kynuarch filius Meirchyavn.  
 Gwawr vxor lledan wyn mater llywarth henn 18  
 Grucon guedu vxor cradauc calch uenit.  
 Marchell vxor gurgeynt Elyuet in monte gorfauael  
 que pro amore castitatis martirizata est Gwenn apud 21  
 Talgarth Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor  
 Kein Breit apud teraflogur Cledei apud Emlyn  
 Vndin apud moniam Jnfulam Kenedlon apud mynyd 24  
 Kymorth  
 Grichan iacet in mynav in valle que dicitur vall[is]  
 Brchan. Anllach iacet ante hostium ecclesie llanyfpydyt  
 Reyn filius brichan iacet apud llanvayloc. Sepulchrum 27  
 Kynauc in Merthyr Kynauc in Brecheiniawc.
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## TRANSLATIONS.

## THE SITUATION OF BRECHENIAUC.

Brecheniauc received its name first from Brachan. In the beginning, Teuderic was king of that district. He formerly came to Garthmatrun, and from there proceeded with chiefs and elders and all his *familia*, and went to Brancoyn, near Lann Maies. And Teuderic said to Marchell, his daughter, "The severity of the cold afflicts us exceedingly. Wherefore it is worth the trouble to procure for my daughter a fur garment, however far we may search, lest she should be overcome with the rigour of the cold. For I will send her across into Hibernia with three hundred men to Anlac, son of Coronac, king of that country, that she may be married to him." Marchell therefore set forth with three hundred men for Lan Semin, and there on the first night a hundred men died from the intensity of the cold. And on the second night she came to Methrum, and there as many died as on the former occasion. And on the third night she went down to Port Maur, a place which was much warmer. And then with the hundred men left to her, she sailed across to Hibernia, and came in safety with her followers to Anlac, king of that country. He received her with much dancing and joy, and betrothed her to himself to be his lawful wife, giving her an oath that if she should bear him a son, he would return with her to Brittannia, that the boy might not be deprived of his ancestral kingdom in Brittannia. And the said Anlach gave waiting-women in marriage to his twelve chamberlains or men, to each a damsel apiece, according to the dignity of their birth. And afterwards Marchell brought forth a son and called him Brachan. Anlach therefore returned with Queen

Marchell and the boy Brachan, and the following chiefs : Kerniol ; and secondly, Fernach, from whom Enifernach is named ; thirdly, Lith milich, from whom is named Maiuawr oper birnich ; fourthly, Lounoic. Brachan was born in Benni, and was sent to Drichan, from whom is named Din Drichan. And it was this Drichan who brought up Brachan (from whom is derived [the expression] Brachan Brecheniauc) when he was four years of age. And in his seventh year Drichan said to Brachan, "Bring me my lance." Now Drichan, towards the close of his life, became blind. And as he lay awake, a certain boar came from the wood and stood near the bank of the river Ischir. And behind it in the river was a stag, and under the stag's belly a fish, which three things portended that Brachan would be fortunate in abundance of wealth. Moreover, there was a beech tree standing on the side of the said river, in which bees were making honey, and Drichan said to Brachan, his charge, "Behold, I give thee this tree full of bees and honey, and also of silver and gold, and may the grace of God and his love abide with thee always, here and hereafter." And after this Anlach gave his son Brachan as hostage to the king of Powys, and afterwards, in process of time, Brachan violated Banadlinet, the daughter of Benadel. And she became pregnant and bore a son, Kynauc by name, who was carried to the *caer* and baptized. After this, Brachan took a torque from his arm and gave it to his son Kynauc. That saint Kynauc is very celebrated in his own *patria* of Brecheniauc, and that torque is preserved to the present time in the said province among its most precious relics. This is the genealogy of saint Kynauc the son of Brachan ; Brachan son of Marchell ; Marchell daughter of Teuderic ; Teudiric son of Teudfall ; Teudfall son of Teuder, son of Teudfal ; Teudfal son of Annhun, king of the Greeks.

These are the names of the sons of Brachan of Brecheniauc ; Rein son of Brachan ; Clytguin son of Brachan, who invaded the whole country of South Wales ; saint Clydouc and saint Dedyu, sons of that Clytguein ; Arthen son of Brachan ; Papay son of Brachan ; Kynon son of Brachan, who is a saint in the western part of the said Mannia ; Dynigat son of Brachan ; Paschen son of Brachan ; Chybliuer son of Brachan, from whom is named Merthyr Chebliuer ; Berwin son of Brachan in Corwallia ; Rydoch (*i.e.* Judoc) son of Brachan in Francia, from whom is named Ton Ridoch Windouith (*i.e.* eurus de vent).

Of the daughters of Brachan : Gladus daughter of Brachan and mother of saint Cadoc ; Tudeuel daughter of Brachan, in Merthir Euineil ; Goleu daughter of Brachan in Laneschin ; Hunyd daughter of Brachan, who lies under the stone of Meltheu and was wife of Tudual Flauus [*viz.* Pefr] and mother of Cunin Cof (*i.e.* memory) ; Tudhistil daughter of Brachan, from whom is named Merthir Tudhistil ; Tibyei, daughter of Brachan, in Cantrebochan ; Kehingayr daughter of Brachan, mother of Saint Kenider of Glesbyri ; Meleri daughter of Brachan, wife of Keredic and mother of Sant, and Sant was the father of Saint David ; Tutglid daughter of Brachan, wife of Kenken son of Kenwaur Cadcathuc and mother of Cadel and Brochuail schitrauc (*i.e.* with teeth) and mother of Jenab and mother of Meigh and mother of Sanand which Sanant was wife of Mahelgun King of North Wales ; Aranwen daughter of Brachan in Powis wife of Gereuerth King of Powis, from whom is the name Joruerthiaun ; Bethan daughter of Brachan in Mannia ; Luan daughter of Brachan, mother of Haidan Bradouc (*i.e.* treacherous) ; Kerdych daughter of Brachan who lies in Tywin in Merioneth ; Nyuein daughter of Brachan, wife of Kennarch cul son of Meirchiaun, mother of [Urien (*text very corrupt, Anscombe reads as follows*) and

Euerdil, wife of Elidir Coscoruaur, *i.e.* of great retinue, and mother of Gurgi and Peredur and Estedich]; Guaur, daughter of Brachan wife of Lidanwen and mother of Loarch Hen (*i.e.* old); Gurycon Godheu daughter of Brachan, wife of Cathraut Calchuynid; Marchell daughter of Brachan, wife of Gurind barmbruch (*i.e.* of the truncated beard) of Merionyth; Guen daughter of Brachan in Talgarth; Belyau daughter of Brachan; Eiliueth daughter of Brachan in Crug Gors Auail (*i.e.* the Mound of the Holding's Mere?); Kein daughter of Brachan in the holding of the Ogmor (*i.e.* within the two branches of that river); Keneythron daughter of Brachan in the mountain of Ceuor in Kedweli; Clydei daughter of Brachan is in Emelin; Duyn daughter of Brachan is in Monia (*i.e.* in Anglesey); Jlund daughter of Brachan.

The tomb of Brachan is in the island which is called Enysbrachan, which is near Mannia. The tomb of Rein the son of Brachan [is] in Landeuailac. The tomb of Kanauc [is] Merthir [Cynog] in Brecheniauc. The tomb of Anlauch [is] before the door of the church of Lanespetit. Brachan had three wives, to wit, Praust, Ribraust, and Proistri.

This is the progeny of Keredic, king of Keredigan: Dewi son of Sant; Sant son of Keredic son of Cunedda; Auan buelh son of Kedic son of the same Keredic: Pedyr Lanwaur, son of Corin son of Keredic; Kenider Gell son of Kynon son of Keredic; Gunlyu son of Guaur daughter of Keredic; Guban Cledyburdh son of Lauch son of Lucho son of Kedich son of Keredic; Jna daughter of Keredic; Karanouc son of Keredic; Dyuennen son of Anhun son of Keredic; Saint Keneu son of Corun son of Keredic; Guban son of Samson son of Keredic; Saint Dogmael son of Jthaeil son of Keredic; saint Tydiuc son of Corun son of Keredic.

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THE FAMILY OF BRYCHAN.

The Family of Brychan, from whom was named Brecheyniawe, a part of Demetia, that is, South Wales.

Teudric, king in Garthmathrim, came as far as Bryncoyn, near Lanmaes, with chiefs and elders, and all his *familia*, having an only daughter, Marchell by name, to whom he said, “I fear concerning thy safety, because of the present pestilence which afflicts us”—to avoid which the said Marchell had a kind of girdle made of the skin of an animal, for there was an opinion that whosoever should place the skin of an animal round his loins, would escape death from pestilence—“Wherefore start out for Hibernia if perchance God should respect my wish that thou mayst live.” And her father assigned to her three hundred men and twelve maidens, daughters of the *architriclinus*, as attendants, all of whom accompanied her thither. And as Marchell was on her journey, she was entertained the first night at Llansemyn, and that night a hundred men died there. In the morning she arose cursing the place of that habitation, and started forth fretting with the sense of danger and remorse, and on the second night she arrived at Madrum, and as on the former occasion a hundred men died there. In the morning she arose as quickly as possible, and on the third night arrived at Porthmaur, and the death of her men having been avoided, she came with her hundred men and her attendants to Hibernia. When her arrival was discovered, there met her Anlach, son of Gormac, king of that place, with a great following, as became a king. And when the reason of her arrival was known, King Anlach was glad, and took her to be his wife, both on account of her beauty and on account of her lineage, she being a king’s daughter. And King Anlach vowed that he would

return with her to Britannia if she bore him a son. And King Anlach wedded the said twelve maidens, giving away each one of them in marriage. And it happened in the course of time that Marchell conceived and brought forth a son, to whom the father gave the name of Brachan. Now when Brachan was two years old, his parents brought him to Britannia and they sojourned at Benny. And Drichan took the boy to be fostered, and he was with him seven years. Afterwards a war arose between the kings, and his father gave him as hostage to the King of Powys whose name was Banadyl; where during his sojourn he violated the daughter of the said king, whose name was Banadylued. She conceived and brought forth a son, whom he caused to be carried to saint Gastayn, whose church is now situated by Mara. He baptized him and called his named Kynauc. Now all knew that he was Brichan's son from the cap and torque with which Kynauc had been vested. This is his pedigree: Kynauc son of Brachan son of Anlach son of Gornuc son of Eurbre of Hibernia, and so far on the father's side. On the mother's, Brichan son of Marchell daughter of Teudric son of Teithphal son of Teithrin son of Tathal son of Annun the Black, King of the Greeks. Afterwards, when Brachan was increasing in virtues, the war ceased and peace was restored between the kings. After some time his father Anlach died, who while Brychan was aspiring to the kingdom of his parents, assembled the nobles of his kingdom to discuss concerning his succession. They, beholding so much diligence, grace and nobleness shiuing in [Brachan], raised him to be king. Whilst he was reigning with lustre and ordering the kingdom which he had received, with greatest care, he married three wives in succession, whose names are these: Eurbraust, Rybraust and Proestri, from whom he had a large progeny; to wit, thirteen sons, whose names

are these: Kynauc; Rein Vrem Rud, who reigned after his father; Clytwyn, *the conqueror of the Deheubarth* [South Wales], who was the father of the saints Clydauc and Dettu; Arthen, who was the father of Kynon, who is in Manan; Papay; Run, himself a saint *ycallet* (?) in Manan; Marthaerun in Keveilauc; Vingat in Llandeuary, who was father of Pascent; Kyfliuer, from whom is called Merthyr Kyfliuer; Berwyn in Cornubia; Ridoc Gwindouut in Francia, whence is named the Hill of Ridoc Gwindouut. Also twenty-four daughters, whose names are these: Gluadis daughter of Brachan, wife of Gwenlluc, son of Glywys Cornubiensis and mother of St. Cadoc; Gloyv in Llanheskyn; [Hunyd wife of] Tutwal Pefir and mother of Cunin Cof; Tutbistyl, from whom is named Merthyr Tutbystil; Tvtuil, from whom is named Merthyr Tutuil; Tebie in Ystrad Towi; Keyngair mother of St. Kenyder; Meleri wife of Keretic, father of St. David; Tuglit wife of Kyngain mother of Cadell; Arganwen in Powys; Bechan in Manav; Lluan mother of Aidan Grutauc and mother of Gafran Vradave; Kerdech in Llandegwin; Nyuen wife of Kynvarch son of Meirchyavn; Gwawr wife of Lledan Wyn mother of Llywarch Hen; Grucon Guedu wife of Cradauc Calchvenit; Marchell wife of Gurgeynt; Elyuet in Mount Gorsauael who was martyred for the love of chastity; Gwen in Talgarth; Koneidon in Kydwely on the mountain of Kyfor; Keinbreit in the holding of the Ogur; Cledei in Emlyn; Vndin in the island of Monia; Kenedlon on *Mount Kymorth*.

Grichan lies in Mynav, in the valley which is called the valley of Brchan. Anllach lies before the door of the church of Llanyspydyt. Reyn son of Brichan lies in Llanvayloc. The tomb of Kynauc is in Merthyr Kynauc in Brecheiniawe.

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## NOTES.

## A.—THE SONS OF BRYCHAN.

The three leading authorities, *i.e.* the *De Situ*, the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn Offeiriad* (Jesus College MS. 20 in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii) agree as to the following eight sons:—

1. KYNAUC the saint of Merthyr Cynog.
2. REIN DREMUD who succeeded his father [cf. Cair Rein = Aconbury Hill, in Herefordshire, *Bk. of Llandav*].
3. CLYTGUIN conqueror of the Deheubarth [cf. Llanglydwyn in West Carmarthenshire] father of
  - (a) ST. CLYDAUC [Clodock on R. Munnaw in Herefordshire].
  - (b) ST. DETTU [Llandetty on R. Usk in Breconshire].
4. ARTHEN [cf. Llanarthen, west of Marshfield in S.W. Monmouthshire].
5. PAPAY.
6. DYNIGAT in Llandovery [cf. also Merthir Dincat = Dingestow (Mon.), *Bk. of Llandav*].
7. BERWIN in "Cornwallia".
8. RYDOC in "Francia", etc.

They disagree as to the following three names which, however, they all regard as those of Brychanites:—

9. KYNON [ap Brychan *D.S.* and *L.O.*; ap Arthen *Cog.*]
10. PASCENT [ap Brychan *D.S.*; ap Dingat *Cog.* and *L.O.*]
11. CYFLIFER [ap Brychan *D.S.* and *Cog.*; ap Dingat *L.O.*]

Both the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* introduce these two additional names, which I leave unnumbered:—

MARTHAERUN *Cog.* or MARCHARAIRJUN *L.O.* in Cyfeiliog.

RUN *Cog.* or RUNAN *L.O.* in Manan or Manaw.

It will be observed that the three documents are agreed in giving Brychan *eleven sons*, which certainly echoes a fixed tradition, as in the case of the *twenty-four daughters*. It is true that the *De Situ* enumerates twenty-five by the introduction of an otherwise unknown “Belyau”, but on the other hand we shall see both the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* faking names of their own in order to complete the twenty-four, whilst in addition we have it on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis that the traditions of the twelfth century ascribed to Brychan twenty-four daughters, and this in the Brychan district itself (Gerald’s *Itinerary through Wales*, Bk. i, ch. 2). The first point, therefore, to note is that our scribes were constrained to give *eleven* names to represent the sons. Of these eleven names, they all agree as to eight, and we note further that they all agree in regarding Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer as Brychanites. If these last are sons, our difficulty is solved and the eleven complete, but here the trouble begins. For the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* add two names which are absent in the *De Situ*. In other words, whereas they all agree in regarding Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer as Brychanites, the *De Situ* which represents the oldest tradition, makes no mention whatever of Marthaerun or Marcharairjun and Run or Runan, whom the later documents introduce. Again, whereas the *De Situ* makes Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer to be all sons of Brychan, thus completing the eleven, the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* only agree as to Pascent, whom they describe as son of Dingad ap Brychan. In order to find room for Marthaerun and Run, and at the

same time remain faithful to the tradition of eleven sons, one makes Kynon a grandson, and the other insists on Cyflifer. It looks; therefore, as though Marthaerun and Run are intruders, who have entirely usurped the place of Pascent and partially that of Cynon and that of Cyflifer.

Marthaerun apud Keueilauc or Marcharairjun ygkeuil-yawc clearly suggests that there was a foundation of some kind called after such a person in Cyfeiliog, which was a commote comprising roughly the parishes of Machynlleth Llanwrin, Cemes, Darowen, Penegos, Llanbrynmair and Caereinion fechan on either side of the R. Dyfi in the extreme W. of Montgomeryshire. Has any such foundation ever been discovered in this district? I believe that Mathafarn in the parish of Llanwrin is generally taken to be the place intended. But Mathafarn is certainly not the name of a person, and, as far as I know, is associated with no ancient ecclesiastical foundation whatsoever. Moreover the connection between such forms as Marthaerun, Marcharairjun or Marcharanhun and Mathafarn is parallel with such identifications as Martletwy and St. Marcellus, Lamphey and St. Faith, and other similar abominations.

Our forms appear to point back to some original Marth . r . . . n in which we may perhaps see a familiar type of place name peculiarly associated with the Brychan traditions, viz., that commencing with Merthyr. With the above, for example, compare such a name as Marther Geryn in the *Book of Llandav*, where Marther represents Martyrium, *i.e.* a shrine for the preservation of relics,<sup>1</sup> and where Geryn is a personal name. If this suggestion proves right, we may perhaps see the personal

<sup>1</sup> See the first essay on the Gildas question in the *St. David's College Magazine*, p. 13 (December 1904), where this explanation of merthyr was apparently put forward for the first time.

name of our supposed Marther in the Run or Runan whom *Cog.* and *L.O.* also introduce into the list of Brychan's sons, and who may be no other than Rein, whose *sepulchrum* was at Llandyfaelog.

Certain references in these documents to the obscure localities "Cornwallia", "Francia", and particularly "Mannia, Manan or Manau", have provided evidence for the presence of Brychanites in Cornwall, France, the Isle of Man, and Manau Guotodin in Southern Scotland. On this basis, also, the theory has been advanced that there were many Brychans, so that nowadays our hero is undergoing the treatment formerly meted out to St. Gildas ap Caw o Priten. With this we are given a companion theory that the eleven sons and twenty-four daughters really comprise grand- and great grand-children. One hardly wonders, therefore, at the impatience even of a scholar like Professor Hugh Williams of the Bala who does not hesitate to refer to Brychan's "mythical progeny" and to describe them as "shadowy beings".<sup>1</sup> Now there appears to be other evidence for the presence of Brychanites in the Devonian Peninsula and in Ireland, but "Francia" or "infrancia", and "Manau", both want watching.

The reference to the former is in the curious note which deals with Rydoc or Iudoc:—

infrancia inde dicitur ton Ridoch Windouith (*i.e.*  
eurus de vent). *D.S.*

gwindouut in francia inde dicitur collis Ridoc gwindouut. *Cog.*

yn freink yny lle a elwir twmbreidoc oe enw ef. *L.O.*  
Fortunately this place is almost undoubtedly referred

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<sup>1</sup> Williams' *Gildas* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), p. 27.

to in the *Mirabilia* of Nennius (*Chronica Minora*, iii, 215) where we read as follows:—

*Est aliud mirabile in regione quæ vocatur Guent. Est ibi forea a qua ventus inflat per omne tempus sine intermissione et quando non flat ventus in tempore aestatis, de illa forea incessanter flat ut nemo possit sustinere neque ante foreæ profunditatem. Et vocatur nomen eius Fith Guint Brittannico sermone, Latine autem flatio venti. Magnum mirabile est ventus de terra flare.*

“There is another wonderful thing in the region which is called Gwent. There is there a pit from which the wind blows at all times without intermission, and when in summer time no wind blows, yet from that pit it blows incessantly, so that no one is able to stand up before the mouth of the pit. It is called *Chwyth Gwynt* in the Brittannic speech, and in Latin *flatio venti* [the blowing of the wind]. It is a very wonderful thing that wind should blow out of the ground”.

It is clear that the Hill of Rydoc, the son of Brychan, is somewhere near Chwyth Gwynt, wherever that may be. I very much regret that I have been unable to identify the spot, but when found it will hardly fail to assist us in the elucidation of this difficulty of “infrancia”.

#### B.—THE DAUGHTERS OF BRYCHAN.

Our three authorities are agreed as to all the married daughters of Brychan, eleven in number:—

1. GLADUS wife of Gwynllwg and mother of St. Cadoc.
2. HUNYD wife of Tudwal Pefr and mother of St. Cynin.
3. KEHINGAYR mother of St. Cynidr of Glasebury.
4. MELERI wife of Ceredig [Cedig?], mother of Sant, St. David's father.
5. TUTGLID wife of Kenken son of Kenwaur Cad-cathuc, mother of Cadell, etc.
6. ARANWEN in Powys, wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, whence Iorwerthion.



7. LUAN mother of Aidan Bradoue.
8. NYUEIN wife of Cynfarch Cul, mother of Urien.
9. GUAUR wife of [Elidyr] Llydanwyn, mother of Llywarch Hen.
10. GURYCON GODHEU wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd.
11. MARCHELL wife of Gwrin Barfdrwel of Meirionydd.

They are also agreed as to the following nine unmarried daughters:—

12. TUDEUEL in Merthyr Tydvil [and Llysworney. Cf. also Hafod Tydvil in the Gwaun valley, N. Pem.]
13. TUDHISTIL in Merthyr Tudhistil [wherever this may be. Cf. Llanawstl in Machen (Monmouthshire) *C-B. SS.*, 607.]
14. TIBYEI in Llandybie, Carmarthenshire [also Lamphey (Pem.), etc.]
15. KERDYCH at Towyn in Merioneth.
16. GUEN in Talgarth.
17. KEIN in Llangeinor, Glam. [This is Kein Wryr', or Keyne the Virgin of Keynsham (Somerset), Kentchurch (Herefordshire), etc].
18. KENEYTHON in Llangynheiddon on Mt. Cyfor at Kidweli.
19. CLYDEI in Clydey in Emlyn, N.E. Pem.
20. DUYN in Anglesey at Llanddwyn.

The following four appear in at least two of our authorities:—

21. GOLEU in Laneschin [cf. Glan Hesgyn in Llanfair Culgudden (Monmouthshire), *C-B. SS.*, 607. *L.O.* appears to have this name erroneously prefixed to Hunyd under the form Goleudyd gwreic Tutwawl Beper].

22. EILIUETH on the hill, once known as Cruc Gors Auail near Brecon. [Gerald's *Itinerary*, i, 2. *L.O.*'s Felis may represent this saint.]
23. BETHAN in Mannia. [*D.S.* and *Cog.*]
24. ILUD in Llanilid, Rhuthyn, Glam. [*D.S.* and *L.O.*]

The following, which I leave unnumbered, only appear in one of our three authorities, and with the exception of Belyau are clearly intended to complete the traditional number of twenty-four.

BELYAU. *D.S.* only.

KENEDLON apud Mynydd Kymorth. *Cog.* only. This is merely a repetition of Koneidon apud Kyd-wely in monte Kyfor. No. 18.

TUTLITH yn Llys Ronwy ygwlat vorgan. *L.O.* only.. A hybrid form of Tutglid and Tydfil. The addition, however, is interesting and refers to Lisworney near Cowbridge. Lewis in his *Top. Dict. of Wales* (1833) says that the church of Llysworney is "dedicated" to St. Tydfil. See also p. xlvj in the excellent appendices to John Griffith's *Edward II in Glamorgan* (1904).

RINHIDYR a bungle for St. Cynidr son of Kehin-gayr daughter of Brychan. *L.O.* only.

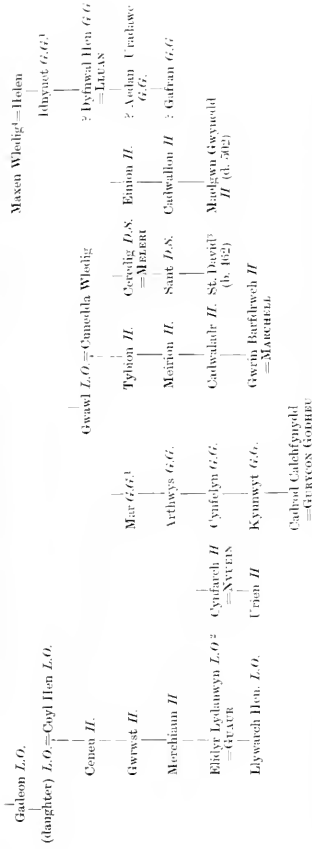
If the medieval tradition respecting the number of Brychan's daughters be ever disproved, it is probable that the first effective attack will be made through the apparently impossible alliances which at least six of them are said to have made with famous representatives of the "Men of the North—Gwyr y Gogledd". In order to provide a bird's-eye view of these apparently impossible alliances, I subjoin a scheme compiled from *L.O.* = Jesus

among which last there is a Bluchbard but no Llywarch (*Chronica Minora*, iii, 205-6). The association of Urien of the North with Arthur, is, of course in this case, a gross anachronism, as Arthur fell at Camlan in 492 A.D. Llywarch Hen is always associated with Powys or Mid-Wales (cf. Anwyl's "Prolegomena to Study of Old Welsh Poetry", *Trans.* of Cymm. Soc. (1903-4), 72, etc.), and belongs apparently to the fifth century. At least in a charter on p. 146 of the *Book of Llandaf*, in which Augustus, one of the kings of Brycheiniog, gives some property at Llangors in modern Breconshire to the monks of Llandaf, reference is made in the boundaries of this property to a certain *claud llywarch hen*. Part of Dr. Evans' translation on p. 369 reads as follows:—"From the Aber of the Well of the Twelve Saints on Lake Syvaddon along the Gwver upwards to its spring, to the head of *Llywarch Hen's dyke*; along the dyke till it descends into the *Llyvni*," etc. Now, as the son of this King Augustus, whose name was Elgistil, was treacherously slain by Tenthur son of *Rein ap Brychan* (see p. 167), Augustus must have been a contemporary of Rein, so that Llywarch Hen was already a well-known personage in the fifth century. Moreover, as the reference to the dyke descending into the R. Llyvni shews, he must have been a neighbour of the Brychanites, so that the tradition that he was the son of Gnaur v'ch Brychan is by no means improbable. To return to Urien, it must be remembered that traditions contained in the *Lolo MSS.* insist on a certain Urien, called Urien Rheged, who drove the Scotti out of Gower, Kidweli, etc., and occupied the district between the Tawe and the Towy. This may have been Brychan's grandson and Arthur's contemporary (Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 257).

<sup>3</sup> There is always a strong temptation to ascribe this pedigree to scribal bungling, thus, Dewi Sant ap C'edig ap Cunedda being read as Dewi ap Sant ap C'edig ap Ceredig ap Cunedda as it appears in the important *Bouddd y Saint* (Peniarth MSS. 16 and 45).

<sup>4</sup> Maxen, i.e. Maxentius, has suffered grievously in being mistaken for Maximus who became Emperor of Rome and perished miserably in 388 A.D. The real Maxen appears to have been a Britannie Romanus in South Wales (cf. Cader Maxen near the Teify; the Pedigree No. II in *II.*; the tale called *Maxen's Dream*, etc.) who formed a matrimonial alliance with a "Roman" princess of Carnarvon, viz., Helena, daughter of Octavius. He appears to have had at least four sons, viz., St. Pablic (Publicus?); Eugenius (i.e. Owen Vindlu); [Iut]nmet [of] Dyfed (? Ped. II, *I' Cymru*, ix, 171); and Antonius (Anthur).

Eudaw Hen (Octavius)



<sup>1</sup> The pedigree from this name downwards is found in *G.G.*; a document on which Mr. Ausonbe lays great stress. "Is precision, its clear arrangement, and the absence of untraced allende, proclaim it to be the work of a professional genealogist" (*Arch. F. coll.*, IV, p. 52). It must be noted, however, that Mar and Arthwys do not appear in *H.*, a much older manuscript, where Pabo is made the son of Conen ap Gwyl whereas in *G.G.* he is described as son of Arthwys ap Mar ap Kenes, etc. Moreover the statement in *G.G.*, that Gafran is the son of Aedlan Uralawe, etc., is a serious error, for Gafran, as is well known, was the father of Aedlan who died in the Annus cxxviii, which in the death he is described as the son of Dugare. If Eudaw, therefore, is the mother of this particular Aedlan, he can not possibly be the daughter of our present Brychan. It may, of course, be quite another Aedlan who has been confounded with his more famous namesake.

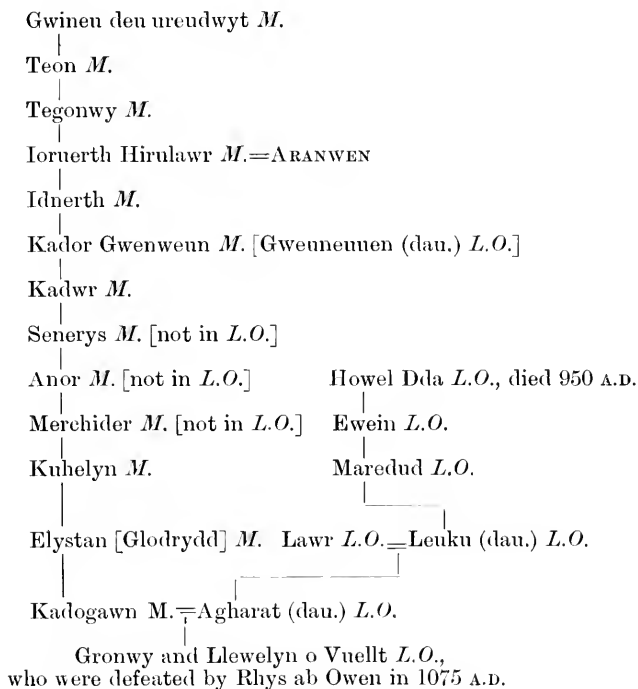
<sup>2</sup> Llywarch ab Eldyr ab Merchiam appears both in *L.O.* and *G.G.*, but not in *H.* Moreover, Eldyr Gogegllawit, who is made the son of Arthwys ab Mar, etc., in *G.G.*, is described in *H.* as brother of Merchiam ap Gwyst, etc. The two sons of Eldyr, viz., Gwyl and Percer, were slain in the Annus cxxxvi, which in the era of Stilleho's Consulship is (400 + 135) = 535 A.D. Their "Weld" nephew, Urien ap Cynfarch, was treacherously murdered, apparently during the reign of Hussa, King of Northumbria (582-592). It is impossible, therefore, that a daughter of our Brychan could have been this Urien's mother. Llywarch Hen is not mentioned in Nennius, either as one of the British chiefs who fought against the Angles of Northumbria, or as one of the famous British poets who flourished at that time, among which last there is a Bludhard, but no Llywarch (*Chronica Maiora*, iii, 205-6). The association of Urien of the North with Arthur, is, of course in this case, a gross anachronism, as Arthur fell at Camlan in 492 A.D. Llywarch Hen is always associated with Pwysy or Mel-wales (cf. Anwyl's "Prolegomena to Study of Old Welsh Poetry," *Trans. of Ymyn-Soc.* (1902-3), 72, etc.), and belongs apparently to the fifth century. At least in a charter on p. 146 of the *Book of Llanidloes*, in which Augustus, one of the kings of Brycheiniog, gives some property at Llangors in modern Breconshire to the monks of Llanidloes, reference is made in the boundaries of this property to a certain *claud llywarch hen*. Part of Dr. Evans' translation on p. 289 reads as follows:—"From the Aber of the Well of the Twelve Saints on Lake Syddallon along the Gwyer upwards to its spring, to the head of *Llywarch Hen's dyke*; along the dyke till it descends into the *Llynny*," etc. Now, as the son of this King Augustus, whose name was Elisgall, was treacherously slain by Teulac son of *Ielin ap Iephnan* (see p. 167). Augustus must have been a contemporary of Renni, so that Llywarch Hen was already a well-known personage in the fifth century. Moreover, as the reference to the dyke descending into the R. Llynny shows, he must have been a neighbour of the Brycheiniogs, so that the tradition that he was the son of Gwyl vch Brychan is by no means improbable. To return to Urien, it must be remembered that traditions contained in the *Iolo MSS.* insist on a certain Urien, called Urien Rheged, who drove the Scotti out of Gower, Kidweli, Elys, and occupied the district between the Tawe and the Towy. This may have been Brychan's grandson and Arthur's contemporary (Blys, *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 257).

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Coll. MS. 20; *G.G.* = Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd (Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii, appendix); and *H.* = Harleian MS. 3859 (*Y Cymm.*, vol. ix).

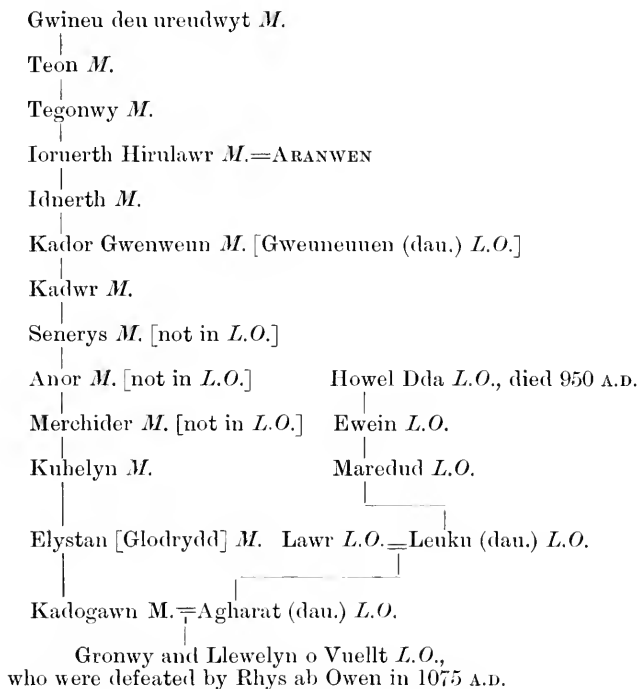
**IORWERTH HIRFLAWDD.**—In the following pedigree, *M.* denotes Mostyn MS. 117 (13th cent.) and *L.O.* as before. It would seem that Iorwerth, the founder of the Powysian “tribe” of Iorwerthion, comes much too late to have married Aranwen, a daughter of our Brychan. But this pedigree is by no means conclusive, as names may have dropped out.



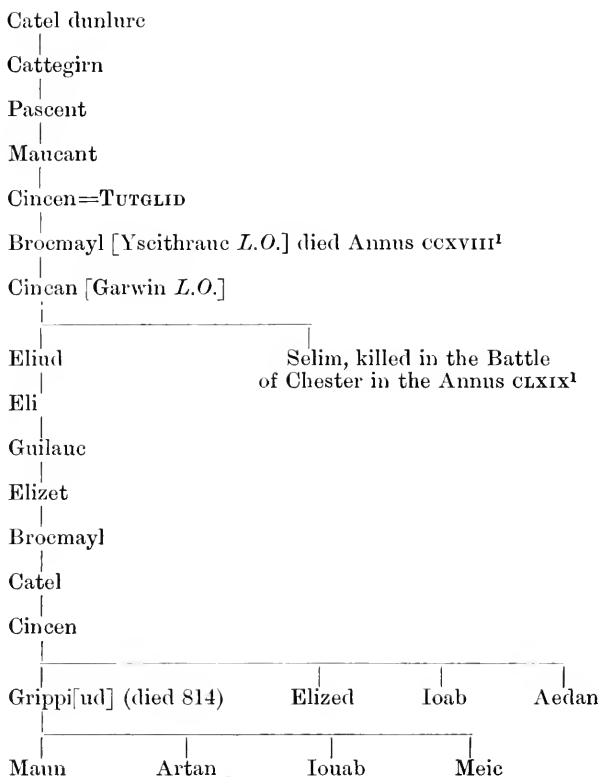


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TUTGLID.—The following pedigree is compiled from Harleian MS. 3859 [and Jesus College MS. 20, where marked *L.O.*]



<sup>1</sup> These two Anni in the era of the *Annales Cambrie* make 662 and 613 respectively, but they seem to refer to the same year, being apparently computations from two distinct eras, neither of which is that of the *Annales* itself. The first, viz. Annus ccxviii, if computed from the Consulship of Stilicho, gives  $400 + 217 = 617$  A.D., and the second, viz. Annus clxix from the erroneous Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, gives  $449 + 168 = 617$  A.D. This year 617 A.D. (which really represents Sept. 1, 616—August 31, 617) is that of the Battle of Chester, where patriotic Englishmen are pleased to see a severing of



This pedigree contradicts that of the *De Situ* which states that Kenken, the father of Brochwel Ysgythrog, was son of Kenwaur Cadcathuc. We certainly have some bungling here. As far as chronology is concerned, it is quite possible that a granddaughter of Brychan could be the wife of Maelgwn Gwynedd (died 502), but it is quite impossible that a daughter of our Brychan could be the mother of Brochwel who died in 617.

THE DATE OF BRYCHAN.—“St. David ap Sant ap Meleri v'ch Brychan” was born in Annus XIV, which in the era of the *Annales* makes  $445 + 13 = 458$ . But in the *Vite* of St. David, there is a fixed tradition that he was born thirty years after St. Patrick went to Ireland as Bishop, which occurred in 433. Hence St. David was born  $433 + 29 = 462$  A.D. Now 462 A.D. is Annus XIV, computing from the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, viz.  $449 + 13 = 462$ , which era is known to be one of the many distinct eras commingled in the computations of our present *Annales*. We may, therefore, for the present say roughly that Brychan was born at latest *circa* 400 A.D.

#### C.—THE FOUR SEPULCHRA.

Both our authorities agree as to the sepulchra, which are as follows:—

the Britons of Wales from those of the North. This of course, if it means anything, assumes that there were previous to this date Cymry beyond the R. Dee, in what we now call Cheshire and Lancashire, which no one as yet has succeeded in shewing. The Cymry who entered North Wales from Cumberland and Southern Scotland *came over the sea* and were regarded by the “Romans” of Britannia as transmarine Piets. The only severing of Britannia was that which the *Excidium Britannie* calls *lugubre divortium*, and which occurred in A.D. 577 as a result of the Battle of Deorham in modern Gloucestershire. Until this date, Britannia was a fixed quantity, at least from 424-5, the year when Vortigern began to reign in S.E. Wales.

1. *Sepulchrum* BRYCHAN in Enys Brachan near Mannia *D.S.*; in the valley of Brychan in Mynav *Cog.*
2. *Sepulchrum* REIN in Llandyfailog. There are two places so called in Breconshire, and one in Carmarthenshire.
3. *Sepulchrum* CYNOG at Merthyr Cynog in Breconshire.
4. *Sepulchrum* ANLACH before the door of Llan-spyddyd Church near Brecon.

The situation of Mannia or Mynav is not yet known. It may be well, therefore, to place together all the references to it in these documents:—

- (a) Kynon ab Brychan, a saint in the western part of the aforesaid Mannia. *D.S.* This is, however, the first time it is mentioned in this MS.  
Kynon ab Arthen, who is in Manan. *Cog.*
- (b) Run, a saint *ycallet* (?) in Manan. *Cog.*  
Runan in the place called Manaw. *L.O.*
- (c) Bethan in Mannia. *D.S.*  
Bechan in Manav. *Cog.*
- (d) Brychan lies in Enys Brachan near Mannia. *D.S.*  
Brychan lies in the valley of Brychan in Mynav. *Cog.*

There is a *Vallis Brachan* referred to twice in the *Book of Llandav* (217 and 263) which appears to be situated within the modern parish of St. Bride's-super-Ely in Glamorgan-shire. The first reference is found in certain boundaries in a grant of land called *Villa Penn Onn et Sant Tylull*, which Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, with a query, identifies with St. y Nill in the above parish. The relevant passage reads as follows:—“*Finis illius est : de valle Brachan* along the high road as far as the spring; from the spring following the high road as far as the ford on the Dulas. *Ab occidentali*

*parte de Nant Brachan* along the ditch, following it straight to the other ditch, along it as far as Rhiw Guorgued. From the Rhiw in a straight line to the head of the dyke. Along the dyke to the ascent as far as the Cecin. From the Cecin as far as Brynn Hinn Hitian as far as Dulas." The second reference is found under the heading *Lann sant breit in mainaur crucmarc* with a peculiar contraction over the *ar* of the last word. Dr. Evans says (352)—"This contraction is not used elsewhere in this MS. ? *crucmarchan* or *crucmrachan*. Cp. *Marchan* and *Brachan*." It refers to St. Bride's-super-Ely, and the boundary is described thus: "In width from Nant Brachan as far as Glesius [Glasswg]. In length from Ffynnon Liss as far as the confluence of the two brooks of Brachan — *ir dou nant brachan*." In a casual reference to the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map, I find Nant Dowlais and Glasswg, also a place called Pentre-Bannau, but nothing nearer Nant Brychan than Nant Rhych. Others may be more successful. Seeing that the *Cognacio* makes Kynon, who is in western Manan, to be the son of Arthen, and that there is a Llanarthen near Marshfield in S.W. Monmouthshire; seeing also that Run or Runan is described as being in Manan, it may not be amiss to point out that the old name of Marshfield is Maerun, whatever that may signify (*Bk. of Ilandav*, 190; Leland's *Itinerary in Wales* (ed. 1906), 15).

#### D.—PALÆOGRAPHICAL.

##### *De Situ.*

10b. 11. *Metrun* with *h* above line and mark of omission.

10b. 18. A later hand, probably that of the *Cognacio* has underlined *siue*, the writer probably having hesitated before the very unusual construction of this part of the sentence.

11a. 20. The d of Keredic seems to have been changed from t.

11a. 25. The e of Bethan is apparently changed from a.

*Cognacio.*

157b. The three notes printed here interlineally are in the left margin in the original MS. On the next page they are all interlineal.

158a. 5. Between Benny and Et is a mark of omission, which refers to the passage copied on 159a. from the *De Situ*, viz. 10b. 20. *Regressus est*, etc., to line 23 *Din Drichan*.

158a. 30. After Clytwyn is a word of two letters, possibly al for alias, or ut or et.

158b. 9. *Ninctis* is difficult to read. The letter before the t appears to be c, with some attempt to change it into i. The expansion of the contraction into *is* is a guess.

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# Two Charters of Henry VII.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

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## A CHARTER TO THE INHABITANTS OF BROMFIELD AND YALE.

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### INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

ABOUT twenty years ago the late Simon Yorke, Esq., of Erddig, lent me the Latin MS., a free translation of which I printed in my *History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales* (published in 1885). The MS. was speedily returned, but mislaid at Erddig. Recently it has been found, and I have borrowed it for a few days so that an exact copy may be made. The MS. is by no means consistent with itself, either in respect of spelling or forms of letters. For example, the distinction between *a* and *o* is by no means always observed, and what is meant for an *a* is often much more like an *o*, and contrariwise. The same remark has to be made concerning the *c* and *t* as they appear in the writing. But I have copied the MS. with as much exactness as possible, not merely because the record is important to be reproduced as it really is, but also to show how variously the words in this old transcript were spelled and abbreviated. Finally, I should like to say that I am not responsible for the Latinity (which, however, is extremely interesting), and that while in my earlier translation there were some words I could not decipher, I have now interpreted the whole MS.

*Endorsement, in somewhat later hand, of a MS. at Erddig  
belonging to Philip Yorke, Esq. :—*

“A graunt from K. H. 7 to the inhabitants of Bromfeild and Yale to free them from diuers oblignts and stricte lifes according to the statutes in form<sup>r</sup> tymes.”

Henricus dei grā Rex Anglie et ffraunc ⁊ dñs hibñe oībs ad quos p<sup>r</sup>sents he pven<sup>t</sup>int Salutem. Sciatis qd licet in pliamento dñi H: nup regs Anglie quarti pgenitoris nri anno regni sui Scdo tent auctoritate eiusdem pliamenti ordinat ⁊ Statut fuit qd nullus walicus aut homo de wallia aliqua tras teñ dñia mañia villas villat reddit reūsiones aut s<sup>r</sup>vitia sive hereditand<sup>a</sup> quacunq’ infra Angliā aut in aliquibus burgis et villis Anglicanis infra walliam acquirere seu obtinere deberet tenend sibi et hered suis in feodo simplici feodo Taliat aut alio modo quocunq nec aliquis huiusmodi walicus seu homo de walia aliqd officiū vic maiorat ballivat constabular aut alterius consimilis in aliqua civit burgo vel villa infra Angliā seu in aliquo burgo aut villa Anglicana inffra waliā gereret teneret occuparet seu sup se assumet sub certis pœnis in statuto predco exp<sup>r</sup>ssis et limittat pvt in eodem statuto plenius continet<sup>r</sup>. NOS tamen bona et laudabilia S<sup>r</sup>vitia que diti subditi nri tenentes ⁊ inhabitantes inffra dominiū nrū de Bromfield et Yale in Northwallia nobis diu<sup>r</sup>smodo ante hec tempora impenderunt indiesq impendere non desistunt intime considerants de grā nra special et ex certa scientia et mero motu n̄r necnon de Avismento concilij nri concessimus pro nobis et hered nris quod oēs et singti tent<sup>s</sup> et inhabitants inffra dniū pred et eor hered et successo<sup>s</sup> aut eor quift de cetero terras teñ dñia mañia villas villat castra reddit reuercōes et Servicicia possessiones et hereditand quecunq’

infra Angliā et in burgis et in villis Anglicanis infra walliam pquirire here recipere et tenere possint sibi et hered suis in feodo simplici Ad terminū vite vel annor feodo qualitr̃cunq talliat<sup>9</sup> aut alio modo quocunq' impuñ Et quod huiusmodi tenents et inhabitants ac eor hered et successōes et eor quift sint et sit libi et libr ac officia vic maiorat custod pacis ballivat constabilariat ac alia officia quecunq eis consona si ad officia illa etci aut evocat fu'int aut eor aliquis etcus aut evocat fu'it infra Angliā et in burgis et in villis Anglicanis infra walliam lib. gerere tenere gaudere ⁊ occupare valeant ⁊ possint ac valeat ⁊ possit licit quiet bene et in pace [ET] quod iidem teñts et inhiantes et eor hereds et Successores et eor quift sint et ēe possint burgens<sup>s</sup> et eor quift sit ēe possit burgenc' in aliquibs et in quibushibet huiusmodi burgenc<sup>s</sup> et in villis Anglicanis in Wallia et p̃ burgenē in burgis et in villis hēant<sup>r</sup> reputent<sup>r</sup> ac vnusquisq eor heat<sup>r</sup> et reputet<sup>r</sup> consimilibs et eisdem modo et forma quibs Anglie in p<sup>r</sup>sentib<sup>s</sup> existunt hēant<sup>r</sup> et reputent<sup>r</sup> absq contradiccōe impedind<sup>o</sup> perturbacōe molestacoe inquietacōe seu gravamine qu<sup>a</sup>cunq n<sup>r</sup>i vel hered n<sup>r</sup>ū aut officiarior<sup>m</sup> ministro<sup>r</sup> n<sup>r</sup> aut alior<sup>m</sup> quor̃cunq, Et insup concessimus p̃ nobis et heredib<sup>s</sup> n<sup>r</sup>is pred quod oīa illa terr teñt reddit reuercōes S<sup>r</sup>vicia possessiones et hereditam̃t infra predt d'miniū que sunt in tenera de gavelkind aut de tenura wallicana et inter hered masculos diuisibilia de cetero non sint diuisibilia sed primogenito vel seniori fit sive hered descend et hereditabl Et pro defect hered masculor<sup>m</sup> Inter hered sive exit females deuisibilia de cetero sint descendenc et hereditabl secundū modū et formā Et pvt terre ⁊ teñ secundū Legem Cōem regni Anglie sunt descendenc remanēnc sive revertabilia Concessimus etiam et p̃ nobis et hered n<sup>r</sup>is qd nullus tenen aut inhabitants predict aut aliquis eōrdem hered seu successor a modo com-

pellenc<sup>r</sup> nec exacti erunt pro [*sic*] nos vel hered aut officiar seu ministros n<sup>ros</sup> aut alios quoscunque ad i<sup>n</sup>rand sive ad accipiend Onus serviend sive occupand officiū Ragloti sive Ringild in aliqua Raglaria sive Ringildina infra dminiū p<sup>r</sup>dict neque exact erunt aut compellent aut elegend p<sup>r</sup>sentand neq<sup>i</sup> i<sup>n</sup>rand ad accipiend onus ad servend sive occupand officiū Ballivor sive Ballivi aut escaet<sup>r</sup> in villa de Wrexham Sed q<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup>dict tenents et inhabitantes et eor quilt decetero sint et sit inde quieti et quietus imppe<sup>m</sup> Et q<sup>d</sup> quedam Custume sive exa<sup>c</sup>oes ibidem vocat firma forestar alit<sup>r</sup> vocat Comorth foresto<sup>r</sup> firma S<sup>r</sup>iant pacis aliter vocat Cyleh kais : firma equiciar alit<sup>r</sup> vocat kyleh Grew<sup>r</sup> repa<sup>c</sup>io ma<sup>n</sup>iū alit<sup>r</sup> vocat treth lles : exit officii feodi Ragloti et Ringildi vidlt de auenis et littera p<sup>r</sup> equo ragloti et denar cū p<sup>r</sup>dict auenis p<sup>r</sup> feodo Ragloti et Ringildi fuit que quidem exacti sive Custome vocat kylgh. Et etiam q<sup>d</sup> quedā exaccōes sive Custome sive ffinis An<sup>n</sup>alis focall Alit<sup>r</sup> treth y tan denar molend ali trethi melyn vidlt p<sup>r</sup> non verticōe aque ad molendina n<sup>ra</sup> et ad[voca]t n<sup>ra</sup> aliter vocat Arthell et denar aduacat ali vocat arian Arthell : vidlt quatuor denar solut an<sup>n</sup>atim firma p<sup>r</sup> advocat deleant et exterminet nec aliqua denario<sup>r</sup> sūma de seu pro eisdem firma forestar firma Seriant pacis firma equiciarii repa<sup>c</sup>oe ma<sup>n</sup>ij exitus officie feodi Ragloti et Ringild exit focal denar molendini et aduocat et denar aduocat de sup p<sup>r</sup> eisdem p<sup>r</sup> forestar Raglot Ringild balliuos p<sup>r</sup>posit aut collect infra dominū p<sup>r</sup>dict aut eor aliquem aut alios officarios quoscunq levet nec levabit exist<sup>r</sup> set q<sup>d</sup> oēs te<sup>n</sup>tes et inhabitants pred et eor hereds et Successoes et eor quilt a modo sint et sit de p<sup>r</sup>mis's et eor quolt quiet et quiet<sup>r</sup> impun absque contradicōe impedind<sup>o</sup> pturbacōe reclamacōe molestacōe inquietacōe gravamine quocunq n<sup>ri</sup> vel hered n<sup>ro</sup>ū aut officario<sup>r</sup> seu ministro<sup>r</sup> n<sup>ror</sup> aut Baliorū quorūcunq : Aliqua consuetudine infra dñiu predict in contrām



sive p̃ contra p̃mis's vel aliqd̃ premissor̃ prius hēt in aliquo modo non obstant Eo qd̃ exp̃ssa mencio de ṽo valore Annuo seu de certitudine p̃missor in p̃nt minime fact existent statuto p̃dict aut aliquibz alijs statutis Actubz ordinacōibz p̃visionibz p̃scripcōibz aut consuetudinibz in contr̃m p̃missor ante hec tempora fact hēt edit ordinat p̃uic seu vsitat nec aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunq in aliquo non obstant et hoc absque fine seu feodo ad opus nr̃u quovismodo soluend In cuius rei testimoniū has t̃ras fieri fecimus patent Teste meipso Apud knoll octavo die Augusti anno regni nr̃i vicesimo

p̃ b̃re de privato Sigillo et  
de dat pred auctoritate plamenti

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FRESH TRANSLATION.

HENRY, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that although in the parliament of the lord Henry the fourth, lately king of England, our progenitor, in the second year of his reign, it was ordained and determined by authority of the same parliament that no Welshman or man of Wales ought to acquire or obtain any lands, tenements, lordships, manors, towns, townships, rents, reversions, services or hereditaments whatever within England or in any English boroughs and towns within Wales, to hold to himself or his heirs in fee simple, fee tail, or in any other manner whatever, nor that any Welshman or man of Wales should bear, hold, occupy, or take upon himself any office [such as that] of sheriff, mayor, bailiff, constable, or of any other the like in any city, borough or town within England, or in any English borough or town within Wales, under certain penalties in the

aforesaid statute expressed and limited as in the same statute is more fully contained. We, nevertheless, considering the good and praiseworthy services which our beloved undernamed tenants and inhabitants within our lordship of Bromfield and Yale, in North Wales, to us in divers ways, before these times have daily yielded, and still heartily yield, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, as well as of the advice of our council, have granted for us and our heirs that all and singular the tenants and inhabitants within our lordship aforesaid and their heirs and successors, or any one of them, may purchase, have, receive and hold any lands, lordships, manors, towns, townships, castles, rents, reversions, services, possessions and hereditaments whatever within England and in English boroughs and towns within Wales, to them and their heirs in fee simple, in fee tail, for term of life, of years, in any manner whatever entailed, or in any other way whatever, securely. And that tenants and inhabitants of this sort and their heirs and successors, and any one of them, be free, and made able and capable to bear, hold, enjoy and occupy the offices of sheriff, mayor, justice of the peace, bailiff, constable and other offices similar to them, if to those offices they be elected or called or some one of them be elected and called within England and in the free English boroughs and towns within Wales, lawfully, quietly, well, and in peace. And that the same tenants and inhabitants, and their heirs and successors, may be burgesses, and any one of them may be a burgess, in any and in whatever [sorts] of burgesship of this kind, and be held and reputed as burgesses in English towns in Wales, and each one of them be held and reputed, in boroughs and towns, in like and the same manner and form in which Englishmen now are held and reputed, without contradiction, impediment, perturbation, moles-

tation, disturbance or complaint whatever of ourselves, our heirs, officers, ministers, or of any other whatever. And moreover, we have granted, for us and our heirs aforesaid, that all those lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions and hereditaments within the aforesaid lordship which are in the tenure of gavelkind, or of Welsh tenure, and divisible between heirs male, shall not be divisible, but descend and be hereditary to the first born or elder son or heirs, and in default of heirs male shall be descendible and hereditary between female heirs or issue, according to the mode and form, and so as lands and tenements are descendible, remainable, or revertible according to the common law of the kingdom of England. We have granted also, both for us and our heirs, that no tenants or inhabitants aforesaid, or any one of the heirs or successors of the same be now compelled or required, in respect of us, our heirs, officers, or ministers, or others whatever, to enter on or accept the charge of serving or occupying the office of raglot or ringild<sup>1</sup> in any raglotry or ringildry within our lordship aforesaid, nor be required, compelled, elected, presented, or entered for accepting the charge of serving or occupying the office of bailiffs or bailiff or escheator<sup>2</sup> in the town of Wrexham, but that the

<sup>1</sup> The "raglot" was the civil representative or official within the commote (*cymwd*) of the lord of the commote, and the "ringild" was his apparitor. The raglot and ringild were entitled to make a "cylch", circuit, or progress among the men of the commote, and quarter themselves upon them, or receive a fee instead of such "cylch". The commote was therefore often called a "raglotry" or "ringildry".

<sup>2</sup> "Bailiffs or bailiff or escheator in the town of Wrexham." The men of "the community of Wrexham" were during the Middle Ages (in the time of Edward IV certainly) accustomed to elect and present for appointment from among themselves one escheator and *two* bailiffs. Of the bailiffs, one was elected by the Welsh tenants and one by the English.

aforesaid tenants and inhabitants, and any one of them, be quit therefrom, for ever, And that certain customs or exactions there called farm of [the office of] forester, otherwise called "Comorth<sup>1</sup> forestor", farm of [the office of] serjeant of the peace, otherwise called "Cylch kais",<sup>2</sup> farm of the [office of] groom, otherwise called "kylch Grew", repair of manor house, otherwise called "treth lles",<sup>3</sup> issue of office of fee of raglot and ringild, namely, oats and litter for the raglot's horse, and a penny with the aforesaid oats for the raglot and ringild's fee, which were exacted, or customs called "kylgh", and also that certain customs or exactions, or a yearly hearth fine, otherwise called "treth y tan", mill-penny, otherwise called "treth melyn", namely, for not turning water to our mills, and our advowry, otherwise called "Arthell",<sup>4</sup> and advowry penny, otherwise called "arian Arthell", namely fourpence paid yearly as farm for advowry, be destroyed and done away, nor any sum of pence for the same farm of forester, farm of serjeant of the peace, farm of groom, repair of manor house, issue of office of raglot's and ringild's fee, hearth tax, mill penny, advowry, and advowry penny, as above, be raised for the same, for foresters, raglots, ringilds, bailiffs, provosts or collectors within our lordship aforesaid, or for

<sup>1</sup> "Comorth", properly "Cymhorth", was an aid or collection, given voluntarily or by compulsion for various objects.

<sup>2</sup> The "cais", or sergeant of the peace, was, like the raglot, ringild and others, entitled to a "cylch" or to a fee (*cylch cais*) instead thereof. The lord's head stud groom was also allowed such a fee (*cylch grew*).

<sup>3</sup> "Treth lles" should, of course, be "treth llys".

<sup>4</sup> "Advocatio" or "advocaria", "advowry", and "arddelw", or "arddelwad", were the law Latin, English, and Welsh forms of a name given to a condition in which persons, who had fled from their own superior, placed themselves under another lord, who "avowed" or answered for them, they paying some acknowledgment (*arian arddel*) to their new lord, and their names being placed on the raglot's roll.

any of them, or for any other officers whatever that may be, but that all tenants and inhabitants aforesaid and their heirs and successors, and any one of them, be now quit and made quiet of the premisses, and of any one of them, securely, without contradiction, impediment, perturbation, reclamation, molestation, disturbance or charge whatever, ANY custom within the aforesaid lordship to the contrary, or against the premisses, or any of them, formerly held in any way, notwithstanding, in that express mention of the true annual value or certainty of the premisses be not herein at all made, the aforesaid statute, or any other statutes, acts, ordinances, provisions, prescriptions or customs against the premisses before these times made, held, enacted, published, or used, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatever, in any respect notwithstanding, and that without any fine or fee of any sort for our work to be paid. In testimony of which thing we have caused these our letters patent to be made. I being witness. At Knoll on the eighth day of August in the twentieth year of our reign.

By letter of privy seal and  
of date aforesaid by authority of parliament.

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## CHARTER OF HENRY VII TO THE INHABITANTS OF CHIRKLAND.

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HENRICUS dei gratia Rex Anglie ⁊ francie ⁊ dominus  
hibernie OMNIBUS ad quos presentes littere peruen'int,  
salutem SCIATIS qd licet in parlamento domini h. nuper  
Regis Anglie quarti progenitoris nostri apud Westmonas-  
terium Anno regni secundo tento auctoritate eiusdem par-

liamenti inactitatū et statutum fuerit q'd nullus Wallicus aut homo de Wallia aliqua terras tenementa dominia maneria villas villatas redditus reuersiones aut seruicia siue hereditamenta quecumque infra Angliam aut in aliquibus Burgis seu villis Anglicanis infra Walliam acquirere seu obtinere deberet tenend sibi et heredibus suis in feodo simplici feodo talliato aut alio modo quocumque Nec q'd aliquis huiusmodi Wallicus seu homo de Wallia aliquod officium vicecomit Maioratus Balliuatus Constabulariatus aut alterius consimilis in aliqua ciuitate Burgo vel villa infra Angliam seu in aliquo Burgo aut villa Anglicana infra Walliam gereret teneret occuparet seu super se assumeret sub certis penis in statutis predictis expressis et limitatis vt in eodem statuto plenius continetur Nos tamen bona gratuita et laudabilia seruicia que dilci subditi nostri Tenentes et inhabitantes infra dominiū nostrum de Chirk ⁊ Chirkland in Marchia Wallie nobis diuersmodo ante hoc tempora impenderunt indiesque impendere non desistunt intime considerantes de gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostro necnon de Aduisamento consilij nostri concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris q'd omnes et singuli Tenentes ac Inhabitantes infra dominiū de Chirk et Chirkland predict ac eorum heredes et Successores ibidem pro tempore existentes decetero terras tenementa dominia maneria villas villatas castra redditus reuerciones et seruicia possessiones et hereditamenta quecumque infra Angliam et in Burgis et villis Anglicanis infra Walliam perquirere habere recipere et tenere possint sibi et heredibus suis in feodo simplici ad terminū vite vel annorum feodo qualitercunq talliato aut alio modo quocumque imperpetuū. Et q'd huiusmodi Tenentes et inhabitantes ac eorum heredes et Successores et eorum quilibet sint et sit liberi et liber ad officia vicecomit' maioratus custodicii pacis Constabulariatus aut

alia officia quecumque eis consona si ad [officia] illa electi aut euocati fuerint aut eorum aliquis electus aut euocatus fuerit infra Angliam et in Burgis et villis Anglicanis infra Walliam libere gerere, tenere gaudere occupare valeant et possint ac valeat et possit tenere quiete bene et in pace. Et q'd iidem Tenentes et inhabitantes et eorum heredes et Successores ac eorum quilibet sint et sit ac esse possint et possit Burgenses et Burgensis in aliquibus et quibuslibet huiusmodi Burgis et Villis [Anglicanis in] Wallia et pro Burgensibz in Burgis et villis predictis habeantur et reputentur ac vniusquisque eorum habeatur et reputetur consimilibus modo et forma quibus Anglicani in presenciarum existunt habeantur et reputentur absque cont'dicione impedimento [perturbacione molestacione inqui]etacione seu grauamine quocumque nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut officiarorum seu ministrorum nrorum aut aliorum quorcumque. Et INSUPER concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris predcis q'd omnia illa terre tenementa redditus reuerciones seruicia possessiones et hereditamenta infra dominiū predictum que sunt de tenura de Gauilkynd aut de tenura Wallicana et inter heredes masculos diuisibilia decetero non sint diuisibilia set primogenito vel seniori filio siue hered. . . . . Et pro defectu heredis masculi inter heredes siue exitus femalas diuisibilia decetero sint descendencia et hereditabilia secundum legem comunem regni Anglie sunt descendencia remanencia seu reuertabilia. Concessimus eciam [pro nobis] et heredibus nris predictis. . . . Tenentibus et inhabitantibz et eorum heredibus et Successoribz q'd ipi et eorum quilibet lib'e possint et possit absque aliqua pena seu forisfactur' nobis forisfact . . . . . ad loca quecumque tam m'catoria q'm alia . . . . . bonis et catallis suis ad eadem bona ⁊ catalla sua vendend. Et q'd non teneantur neqe compellantur nec aliquis eorum teneatur neqe compellatur ad

soluend tolmeta nobis aut alicui heredum n̄ror infra dominiū de Chirk predict . . . . . dominiū predicti venditis seu vendend. Et q'd omnes tenentes et inhabitantes p'dicti et ipoñ heredes et Successores et eorum quilibet decetero sint quieti et exoñati ⁊ quietus et et exoñatus de omnibus et vtriusmod . . . . nobis et heredibus [nostris] aut firmariis seu ministris nostris ibidem quibuscumque soluend infra dominiū predictum sicut Burgenses ville de Chirk predict sunt infra eundem dñiū. Et concessimus pro nobis et heredibus n̄ris predictis q'd omnes tenentes et inhabitantes [predicti] ac eorum heredes et Successores habeant et habere possint et valeant siue eorum quilibet habeat et habere possit et valeat liberam et cōem pasturam pro omnibus et omnimod animalijs et aueriis suis omnibus . . . . . in forestis nostris de kumcath karregnant Bodlith, dolwen et mochnant in dñio predicto [absq̄ aliquo reddito] aut alia denariorum suāa nobis aut heredibus nostris seu firmariis ibidem quibuscumque red . . . . . seu quouismodo soluend. Et q'd tenentes infra commot de Nanheuduy et in Ringildria de mochnant aut eorum heredes et Successores decetero non compellantur nec exacti [. . .] per nos vel heredes aut Officiarios nostros seu ministros aut alios quoscumque . . . . . ad seruiendum siue occupandum officium Ringildi neque teneantur aut compellantur ad veniendum siue faciendum sectam ad molendina nostra quacumque infra dominiū p'dc̄m. Nec eciam q'd tenentes et inhabitantes infra Commot de kynlleyth et mochnant neque eorum heredes aut Successores decetero compellantur ad faciendum sectam ad Curiam n̄ram apud Chirk sed solomodo infra Commot de kynlleyth et mochnant provt antiq̄m . . . . . et facere . . . . . Et si quis tenens aut inhabitans pred̄cus infra dictum dominiū heredum seu successorum suorum intestatus obierit



Escaetor aut aliquis alius Officiarius ibidem n̄r seu de bonis catallis et debitis huiusmodi decedentis [nullatenus intromittat sed total]iter decedentis . . . . . loci ordinario [cedeat] et reuertetur ad vsum et dispositionem heredum seu propinquiorum talis decedentis. Et VLTERIUS q'd quidam custume siue exaciones ibidem vocat opera et consuetudines . . . . . videlicet, treth . . . . . treth melyn vocat opera molendina [ . . . . . vertitudine] Aque seu aliis operibus ad molendina nostra opera messionū Treth mayr Gaiaf Treth kawsty Treth scubor Treth gweission Bychain Treth oen treth d . . . . . Treth [chirk] Treth dan Treth pent[eulu] treth . . . . . kvleh kais kvleh Ringild kvleh Ebolion et Greor kvleh equorum domini kylch equorum Senescalli et Garcionis sui kylch koydwr Twng Amobir et Aduocaria et denarij Aduocarie alias Arddel et Arian [Arddel] . . . . . nec aliqua d[enarior]um sumā [inde seu] pro eisdem operibus trethe kylche Twng Amobyr et arddel et arian Arddel customis et consuetudinibus predictis per nos et heredes n̄ros forestarios Ringildos ballivos . . . . . dominiū predictum aut per eorum aliquem aut alios officarios quoscunque leueter neque soluetur nec leuabilis existit. Sed q'd omnes tenentes et inhabitantes predicti et eorum heredes et Successores ac eorum quilibet decetero . . . . . et eorum quilibet quieti et quietus imperpetuū absque contradicione impedimento perturbacione reclamacione inquietacione seu grauamine quocumque nri vel heredum n̄ror aut Officiarorum . . . . . aut eorum . . . . . aliqua consuetudine [causa] more vel vsu infradictum dominiū incontrariū siue contra premissa vel aliquod premissorum prius hit in aliquo non obstant. Eo q'd expressa mencio de vero valore . . . . . in presentibus minime specificat e[xista]t statuto predicto aut aliquibus statutis actibus ordinacionibus proclamacionibus

prouisionibus prescripcionibus aut consuetudinibus in contrariū premissorum ante hec tempore . . . . . prouis  
 . . . . . nec aliena . . . . . causa vel materia  
 quacunque in aliquo non obstant. Et hoc absq̃e fini seu  
 feodo ad opus nostrum seu ad officium vel feodo hanaperij  
 nri quouismodo soluend vel capiend. **HIIS TESTIBUS** . . .  
 . . . . . patribus Willō . . . . . Cancellario nostro ⁊  
 Thoma Eboracensi Archiepiscopis venerabilibus in x̃ro patri-  
 bus Riçō Wintoñ custode priuati sigilli nostri et Edmundo  
 Sap Episcopis precarissimis Consanguineis nostris Johanne  
 . . . . . ac Admirallo nostri [regni] Georgio [Salop]  
 Senescallo hospicij nostri et Thomā Sur̃ Theſ. nostro  
 neenon dil̃cis ⁊ fidelibus suis Egidio Daubeney de Dau-  
 beney Camerario ñro et Thoma louell Theſ. hospicij nostri  
 . . . . . et Edmundo Dud . . . . . pre[sidentis con]silij  
 nostri Armigō ⁊ aliis. **DAT** per manū ñram apud West-  
 monasterm̃ vicesimo die Julij Anno regni nostri vicesimo  
 primo. p. ip̃m Regem ⁊ de data  
 pd̃ca auctoritate parliamenti.

[No translation is offered here of this Chirkland Charter. Such translation would be very incomplete, as so large a part of the Latin copy is, for the reason already given, quite illegible.]

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#### NOTES TO CHIRK CHARTER.

This charter to the tenants and inhabitants of Chirk, long in the possession of the Pulestons of Emral (to whom it came from the Edwardses of Chirk), was, for years unknown, kept in an attic where it became soaked with damp, so that when brought to light it was in a lamentable condition. Even then, nearly all of it might perhaps have been read if some one, in the spirit of "restoration", had not overwritten many of the faint letters and words, and

often overwritten them wrongly, so as to conceal the true characters underneath. The charter now belongs to Mr. Crawshaw Puleston, of Worthenbury, who lent it to Mr. Yorke, of Erddig, where I saw and copied it.

When the words in the charter are too faint to be read with certainty, or are missing, I have, in my copy, either left a blank, or put between square brackets the words probably used, but only in case that those words exactly fill up the space of unreadable matter. However, it is to be understood that all which is contained between square brackets is more or less conjectural, while the rest I have distinctly made out.

Referring to the import of this charter, it is very similar in its tenor to other charters granted by Henry VII at this time to the tenants of other Welsh crown lordships, but the names of places differ, and also the nature of the services, dues, and customs dealt with. Herein, in fact, lies the interest of the charter, and this was the motive which prompted me to spend so many hours in its decipherment. In any case, a copy of the charter, so far as it is now capable of being copied, ought to be made, and such copy should, I think, when made be printed.

As to the Welsh dues, named in the Chirkland charter, but not mentioned in that of Bromfield and Yale, a few explanations, or brief notes, may be necessary.

“Opera messium”, harvest works, especially works of mowing and reaping, due to the lord.

“Treth” was a tax payable to the lord or his officers, or a commutation for “cylch”, *circuit* or *progress* which the same lord or his officers were entitled to make within the commote upon the men of it.

“Treth melyn”, properly “Treth melin”, or *mill tax*, due to the lord for work at his mill, for not grinding there, and for not turning water to it.

“Treth mayr Gaiaf”, properly “Treth maer gauaf”, the due payable to *the winter mayor*, but what the functions of the winter mayor were I do not know.

“Treth kawsty” for “Treth cawsdy” or “Treth gawsdy”, *the cheese house tax*, in respect of using the lord’s cheese house.

“Treth scubor”, for “Treth ysgubor”, *the barn tax*, due for the use of the lord’s barn.

“Treth gweision bychain”, a tax in commutation of the “cylch” or *progress* which the gweission bychain, little lads, or young retainers of the lord, were accustomed to make.

“Treth oen” means *lamb’s tax*, but I cannot otherwise explain it.

“Treth d . . . .”, probably “Treth danwydd”, paid for collecting firewood.

“Treth chirk”, some sort of tax for not paying suit to the lord’s courts at Chirk, or other fees in respect of those courts.

“Treth dan”, *fire tax*, or *hearth tax*.

“Treth penteulu”, the due of the penteulu, or chief of the princely family, next to the actual lord.

“Kvlch kais”, that is, “Cylch cais”, the progress of the serjeant of the peace through the commote.

“Kvlch Ebolion”, or “Cylch Ebolion”, *the progress of the colts*.

“Cylch Grewr”, or “Cylch Greorion”, the progress of the lord’s stud-groom or grooms. The commutation for this is defined in the Bromfield Charter as “firma equiciarii”.

“Kvlch equorum domini”, *progress, or circuit, of the lord’s horses*.

“Kylch equorum Senescalli et gracionis sui”, *progress of the horses of the Seneshal or chief steward, and of his groom*.

“Kvlel koydwr”, or “Cylch coedwr”, *Woodman’s progress*, perhaps the same as “Cylch penfforestwr”, or *progress of the chief forester*, commuted in Bromfield into a “cymhorth”, or *aid*.

“Twng”, properly “Twnc”, a rent or tribute payable by each kindred holding a “gwely”, or tribal holding, and fixed ultimately upon the land.

“Amobr”, a due payable to the lord or his officers on the marriage or violation of a woman.

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# An Episode in the History of Clynnog Church.

By EDWARD OWEN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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THE copy of the manuscript that follows contains no facts of general import, nor any that throw fresh light upon the organization of the Welsh pre-Reformation monastic and semi-monastic foundations; none the less is it a highly interesting document which may fairly be regarded as a valuable contribution to the history of the important church of Clynnog Fawr yn Arfon.

It is probable that careful research in the Public Record Office and other depositories of historical manuscripts would enable the searcher to add very considerably to the meagre accounts that have been written of the chief foundation of St. Beuno, and it is a decided reproach to local antiquaries, that the enterprise has not been attempted by one of them. So far as I know, the brief paper contributed by the late Rev. Henry Longueville Jones to the third volume of the first series of *Archæologia Cambrensis* still remains the best and, indeed, the only account of Clynnog Church; and yet (with the exception of the architectural description) how very inadequate it is.

A curious parallelism exists between the history of Clynnog Church and that of Holyhead Church, so that he who would undertake the one should lay himself out to do the other. How early the correspondence shows itself it would be difficult, probably impossible, to say with any degree of accuracy; but I am inclined to think that it first

appeared in very early days, and arose out of a similarity of ritual and organization that might ascend even to the time of Beuno and Cybi. It is surely not a casual coincidence that a writer of the reign of Elizabeth, when reporting to the Government of the day on the habits and disposition of the Welsh, observes that "Upon the Sondaies and hollidaies the multitude of all sortes of men woomen and childerne of everie parishe doe use to meete in sondrie places either one [on] some hill or one the side of some mountaine where their harpers and crowthers singe them songs of the doeings of their auncestors, namelie, of their warrs againste the kings of this realme and the English nac'on, and then doe they ripp upp their petigres at lenght, how eche of them is descended from those their ould princes. Here also do they spende their time in hearinge some parte of the lives of Thalaassyn [Taliessin], Marlin, Beuno, Kybbye, Ieruu [? Llywarch hen], and suche other the intended prophetts and saincts of that cuntrie."<sup>1</sup> Whether the "lives" that were thus used were similar in text to those that have been preserved to our own day it is of course impossible to state; the probability is that they were.

The parallelism of Clynnog with Holyhead becomes

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, *Lansdowne*, iii, f. 10 (see *Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, p. 72). In a review of this work in the *English Historical Review* for January 1906, Dr. Plummer, of Oxford, has convicted me of an error, which I deeply deplore, in that I have unfortunately misread the names of 'Beuno' and 'Kybbye' as "Beno" and "Pybbe," and have treated them as the appellative "pen beirdd" as applied to Merlin. I should be deeply obliged to all who have the *Catalogue* and who happen to read these lines if they will make the correction. There is reason to think that the writer of the above was bishop Nicholas Robinson of Bangor [1566-1585], but I have not as yet been able to trace the original; the document in *Lansdowne* iii is a copy made most probably for Lord Burghley.

clear when we get to the *Taxatio* of 1291. Both churches had become collegiate, the former with five canons, the latter with four, and it is most probable that they had arrived at this point by similar courses and at about the same period. Griffith ap Cynan had left a like bequest to each church, and the consequent patronage that we know was shown by the great tribal families of Anglesey towards Holyhead was no doubt similarly displayed by the tribal chiefs of Arfon towards Clynnog. Both churches were what we may term "royal foundations", Holyhead having become so in virtue of the acquisition by the English prince of Wales of the tribal rights of the Welsh princes (A. N. Palmer, "On the Portionary Churches of North Wales", *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, iii, 175). Somewhere in the latter half of the fourteenth century the number of canons at Holyhead was enlarged to twelve, and the patronage thereto seems to have been altogether appropriated by the Crown. This is evidenced by the appointments that appear upon the Patent Rolls, and it is clear that much if not all the tribal rights of patronage had been extinguished.<sup>1</sup> The number of appointments to canonries of Clynnog that are enrolled upon the Patent Rolls justify the inference that much the same course had been followed

<sup>1</sup> The point is not without difficulty, for amongst the deeds at the Public Record Office is the following, executed not many days before the inquiry which forms the subject of this paper. "Grant by Richard Bulkeley, knight, Edward Gruff(ith) esquire, John Lewys, Meredith ap Thomas, Rouland Gruff(ith), Hugo Lewys, John ap Rees ap Ll(ewell)in ap Hulkyn, Owen ap Hugh ap Owen, Redergh ap D(avi)d, Robert ap John ap Myrkyke, John Owen, Richard ap Maurice ap Rees, John ap Rees ap Hoell, Rees ap Howell ap Rees, Robert ap Rees ap Ll(ewell)in ap Hulkyn, Hugh ap Ll(ewell)in ap Jevaun, Robert ap Gruff(ith) ap Hoell, William ap Gwyll(im) ap Ll(ewell)in Lloyd, William Wodde, Thomas ap D(avi)d ap Jevaun, William ap Ll(ewell)in ap Gwyll(im), Robert ap Ior(worth) ap Hoell, Hoel ap Ior(worth) ap Hoell, Maurice ap Maurice Rees ap David ap Edeaun [? Ednyvain], John ap Jevaun Lloyd,



there as at Holyhead. The collegiate body had been enlarged, and the Crown appointed apparently to all vacancies. Indeed, the same person not infrequently held a canonry in both churches by grant of the Crown, and there can be little doubt but that the continued publication of calendars of the public records will furnish further instances extending up to the period when Clynnog and Holyhead churches lost their collegiate status.

Another interesting mark of the fellowship that existed between the churches of Beuno and of Cybi is to be found in the common characteristics of their architecture. By reason of circumstances at present unknown to us the chapters of both churches about the close of the fifteenth or commencement of the sixteenth century determined to practically rebuild their several edifices, and this was carried out in each case with such similarity as to show not only a common purpose but a single architect. Differences between the buildings of course exist, and Clynnog is by far the finer structure; but the differences are only those occasioned by the local peculiarities of situation. In each case there may have existed an edifice upon the site of the present church, but if such was the case it was ruthlessly removed so as to have left no certain

Jevaun ap D(avi)d ap Gwyll(im), D(avi)d ap Tudor ap Ll(ewell)in, true and undoubted patrons of all the prebends of the collegiate church of Castle Kybye in the diocese of Bangor, to William Pallett, knight, David Walker, Robert Jones, and Hugh Roberts, clerks, and to Thomas ap Res Wyn, gentleman, jointly and severally, of the next presentation to a prebend of the said church that shall become vacant, 12 October, 29 Henry VIII." It will be noticed that Edward Griffith, esquire (the second of the above grantors), was one of the commissioners who sat at Carnarvon on the 14th of the following November. It may have been that the rights of the Crown were only those of "nomination", just as in the issue of the *congé* to elect a bishop, but it seems quite clear that there was no power of rejection in the collegiate chapter.

evidence of its presence. But close to each church still stands a smaller building, which tradition in the case of Clynnog, and ocular demonstration at Holyhead, shows to have been of an earlier period. At both places it was determined to preserve the portions of the existing sanctuaries that had become hallowed by association with the names of their Celtic founders. At Clynnog the little church of Beuno was rebuilt and architecturally united with the more splendid fane which arose by its side. At Holyhead the site did not admit of quite similar treatment, and the restricted area of Maelgwn Gwynedd's Romano-British castellum compelled the erection of the new edifice at such a distance from the earlier church of Cybi as put out of question a constructional union of both buildings.<sup>1</sup> The fact already mentioned, that some of the prebends and canonries (both terms seem to have been in use) in both churches were held by the same individual would lead to continuity of organization and management, and the rule under which the communities lived was probably the same. Their end as collegiate institutions

<sup>1</sup> The smaller church at Holyhead was probably diverted into a school soon after the dissolution of the collegiate chapter, and is now used as a vestry room. It has frequently been called Capel y Gwyddel, as being the supposed burial-place of Serigi Wyddel who was killed by Caswallon in the sixth century; but in the first Minister's Account of the college property after its appropriation by the Crown it is termed Eglwys y Bedd, and I have no doubt but that the grave which gave its name to the building was that of Cybi, just as Beuno's shrine was left undisturbed in Capel Beuno at Clynnog. In a series of papers in the *North Wales Chronicle* for 1905, I have put forward the suggestion that the walled enclosure within which the church of St. Cybi at Holyhead is built was constructed soon after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain. I wish some antiquary of repute would take up the question, for if I am right we have at Holyhead the earliest example of post-Roman building construction in the kingdom, and one that is still in excellent preservation.

was also alike, for both became attached to Jesus College, Oxford, to which their patronage still belongs.

There was, however, one highly important feature in which the ecclesiastical establishment at Clynnog differed from that at Holyhead. The tribal rights which in the latter, as we have seen, preserved some traces of their original vitality, seem in the former to have become dormant if not altogether extinguished. How or when this had happened, whether from a sudden assertion of superior authority or from increasing carelessness and neglect it is not possible to say; perhaps from both reasons, coupled with an unpropitious conjuncture of circumstances. In date it was probably not far distant from the Dissolution year, and we seem to obtain some hint of the manner in which it was occasioned from the interesting document which follows. The immediate cause of the enquiry to which this relates was a dispute between the king and the bishop of Bangor as to the right of patronage in the church. The question at once arises, How had the bishop of the diocese come into the matter at all, save only in virtue of his undoubted right of induction? And to this question no satisfactory answer is apparent. It is, however, certain that while the occasion of the enquiry was the simple one of patronage, other circumstances added zest to the quarrel, and these have to be gleaned from the public records of the period. At the date in question (1535-6) the Bishop of Bangor was John Salcot, *alias* Capon, who "could not" the language of the country (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, No. 833, 6 June 1535). One of his principal clergy was William Glyn, "doctor of both lawes, archidiacon in the cathedral church of Bangor of ye archdeaconry of Anglesey, canon and prebendary in the said cathedral church", as he describes himself in the certificate

of the value of his preferments. He was inappropriate rector of Amlwch (with its chapels); propositus "or rector" of the church of Clynnog Fawr (with its chapels of Llanwnda, Llanvychan [Clynnog Fechan], Llangelynin, Llangeinwen and Llandwrog); rector of Llaneignion in Lleyrn; and prebendary in the church of Llandinam in the deanery of Arwistly. He was also a portionist if not provost of St. Cybi's collegiate church at Holyhead. This ecclesiastical Poo-Bah farmed the tithes of Llangeinwen to John Puleston, serjeant-at-law, the father-in-law of another distinguished layman in the diocese, Edward Griffith of the Penrhyn, son and heir of Sir William Griffith, chamberlain of North Wales. Another able and ambitious magnate of restless temper, considerable power and growing influence, was Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Baron Hill, acting-chamberlain of North Wales, and sheriff of Carnarvonshire. With the broad lands and seigniorial privileges of the dissolved monasteries going for the asking, the period was not propitious for the cultivation of the finer virtues of generosity and reticence; so these great people did as plenty of great people were doing in every corner of the kingdom, they descended into the arena and engaged in the ignoble scramble. Everyone who was "on the make" naturally looked with suspicious eye upon his neighbour, and the demon of greed having poisoned their affections at the source, the heart became charged with envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness. We catch a glimpse of the state of feeling existing amongst the prominent men of the district at this time in a letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley to Cromwell, of the 25 June 1535. "Your Mastership", observes the former, "told my servant, this bearer, when he was last with you, that I would suffer no man to dwell in this country but myself. I trust you believe no such thing in me, for I never intended to expulse any man, but only

to do the King service though I was hindered by my old adversaries Edward Gruffith, Dr. Glyn, serjeant Pilston and Sir Roland [Velville]. ‘They play with me Scogan; for they begin to complain because they know that I have special good matter to lay unto their charges.’” Whether any circumstance in connexion with Clynnog Fawr had occasioned the enmity between these high-placed personages it is impossible to say; but it was soon to add fresh fuel to the fire that was merely slumbering.

Neither the ecclesiastical foundation of Clynnog nor that of Holyhead came within the scope of the Act for the suppression of the religious houses, (1) because their annual income was below £200 per annum—though this proved no defence to numerous monastic establishments; (2) because they were not monasteries. The term is loosely used in connection more particularly with Clynnog, but it is both inappropriate and inaccurate. However, the “hammer” that was everywhere prostrating the monks and scattering their possessions was not careful to discriminate between the true monastic orders and a few friendless regular, or even secular, canons, especially if the latter had a few acres of land or sacred vessels of silver or gold.

We have no record of what transpired at Clynnog, but it is quite certain that in 1536 the church was “visited”, its collegiate character altered, and its property confiscated. It would appear that Dr. Glyn (or one of his near predecessors) with the accommodating properties of Aaron’s rod, had managed, as provost, to swallow up all the “portions” into which the revenues of the church had been divided, so that the church had virtually become an ordinary parochial church having several dependent chapels which were served by vicars appointed by the rector. At the dissolution these all vested in the Crown, and trouble began. The king’s vicar-

general and lord privy seal, Cromwell, had no intention of permitting the whole of the spoil to fall to the neighbouring squires, and accordingly handed over the advowsons of Llangaffo and Llangeinwen (or the "portions" represented by those churches in the aggregate revenues of Clynnog Fawr) to his nephew Gregory Williams, who managed to make good his possession by the aid of Sir Richard Bulkeley, though the latter was under suspicion of intriguing to obtain them for his cousin, Dr. Arthur Bulkeley. It is probable that Cromwell's nephew, copying a leaf from his rapacious uncle's book, disposed of the livings with the celerity with which he had seized them. Or Dr. Glyn, who evidently stood well in the good graces of the lord privy seal, may have made out his claim to them as being appendant to his rectory of Clynnog Fawr. At any rate he held them at his death, and they went to his successor at Clynnog, as we shall see. Sir Richard Bulkeley contrived to solace himself by the "portion" of the Clynnog revenues represented by Llandwrog, which he obtained for his brother William. Archdeacon Glyn was not so easily dislodged from Clynnog. An interesting letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley to Cromwell, dated the 8 May 1537, is abstracted in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, xii(1), No. 1154, as follows:—"Never was poor officer under the King so molested all through Dr. Glynn, who is now in London, and Edward Gruffith and their adherents, who would have no Englishmen to bear rule among them, while he [the writer] would prefer the King's right usurped by them, viz., the archdeaconry of Anglesey (worth £100 a year), the benefice of Clunnoch Vawer (worth 100 marks), and another called Llan Eign[ion] (worth £30). These are all the King's presentation, but the Dr. takes them by gift of the bishop. Desires a commission to inquire into it. Edward Gruffith 'holdeth both

fysh yards and quarrels where sclates be goten, and also an ile within the see where grapas be goten',<sup>1</sup> and other lands which belong to the King." Owing to these representations Dr. Glyn was called upon to reply to certain articles, the second of which related to his benefice of Clynnog Fawr, and to which he retorted that he was not "provost" of Clynnog, the church there not being collegiate but an "*ecclesia comportionata sive plebania*". The replies were evidently not satisfactory to the authorities, and the commission issued which is the subject of the present paper. But even before it met to take evidence upon the articles submitted to it Dr. Glyn was no more. He died some time in October 1537, in which month the provostship of Clenokvaure with the chapelries of Llangeinwen and Llangaffo were bestowed by the Crown upon John Gwynedd, or Gwyneth as it is usually written, one of the most celebrated clergymen of his day. It is clear that the bishop considered it injudicious to press his claim to the presentation, or that he recognized that the evidence presented before the commission on behalf of the Crown was incontrovertible, and quietly relinquished his pretensions.

One of the most deplored losses of Welsh manuscript treasures is that of the book of Beuno called Tiboeth, which Dr. Thomas ap William is said to have seen in the year 1594. There can be little doubt but that it was identical with the volume mentioned by several of the witnesses at Carnarvon in 1537 as "*Graphus Sancti Beunoi*". It had then disappeared from Clynnog or it would doubtless have been produced, and there is every reason to fear that it does not now exist. From the appeal to its testimony it would seem to have been in the nature of a register of the collegiate property, with a list

<sup>1</sup> The allusion must be to Bardsey.

of the members of the chapter, and perhaps an occasional memorandum of important events that would be of inestimable value to modern scholars.

Many other interesting features of late mediæval life are illustrated by the document; and, not least, is the wealth of material it provides for the genealogist.

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*Public Record Office. Miscellanea of the Exchequer* <sup>10</sup>/<sub>29</sub>.

Apud Caernarvon xiiij die Novembris anno regni regis  
Henrici viiiij<sup>vi</sup>, xxix<sup>o</sup> [1537].

Herafter ensuyth the Deposic'ons and sayngs of every person and persons whiche were called before Edwarde Gryffith esquier, John Puleston esquier, Rolande Meuricke bachelor in the Lawe, and John Ramriche clerke, by vertue of the king's honourable Com'ission to theym directed bering date at Westm' the xxjth day of October in the xxixth yere of our soveraigne lord king Henry theight concernyng the Right Title and Interest of and in the patronage of Clenocke Vawre w'in the countie of Caernarvon w' the churcheis and chapells therto belongyng or app'teynyng.

Apud Caernarvon xiiij die Novembris anno regni regis  
Henrici viiiij<sup>ui</sup> xxix<sup>no</sup>.

. . . . . the deposic'ons and sayngs of ev'y p'son and p'sons whiche were called before . . . . . Gryffith esquier, John Puleston esquier, Rolande Meuricke bachelor in the . . . . . Ramwiche clerke by vertue of the King's hono'able com'ission to theym . . . . . at Westm' the xxjth day of October in the xxix<sup>th</sup> yere of our Sou'ayne . . . . . concernyng the right title and interest of and in the patronage . . . . . the countie of Caernarvon w<sup>th</sup> the churches and chappells . . . . . or appeteynyng.

Ffirst Rolaund Gruffith of the countie of Anglesey in Northwalles esquier of thage of xliij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe sayth and deposeth that the seid church of Clenocke Vawre is situate and lying w<sup>th</sup>in the towne of Clenok wherof the King is cheffe lorde,



and forasmuche as he doth understande and p'ceyve by a boke called Graphus S'ci Bewnoi, and also by the sight of certen letters patents graunted unto one Jeffrey Trefnant clerke by Kinge Edwarde the iiij<sup>th</sup>, and also hathe seen a copie of the King's records written w<sup>th</sup> the hande of Edmonde Griffithe then baron of the King's exchequer in North Walles that the seid church of Clenoke was of the King's presentac'on; and saythe that he herde by dyvers auncient and credible p'sons that one Mathew Pole clerke was presented by prynce Arthure to the seid church of Clenocke Vawre; therefore he saithe that the King's heighnes is veray patrone of the seid church w<sup>th</sup> Llangeynwen and Llangaffo and other churcheis and chapells therunto belongyng.

Mr. Lewes Newbur<sup>ghe</sup>, clerke, Tresaurer of the cathedrall church of Bangor<sup>1</sup> of thage of lij yeres sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposithe that the saide church of Clenocke is situate and leyng in the seid town of Clenocke where the King's grace is chieffe lorde as the former deponent hathe saide, and forther saithe that he sawe one Mathew Pole clerke presented to be preposito<sup>r</sup> of Clenock Vaure by prince Arthure, and that the seid Mathew died incu'bent there. And also saithe that in King Henry the vijth's days, this deponent beyng then the King's S'rveiour of all his lands in North Walles, and that he then by reason of his office entred w<sup>th</sup> one Doctor Boothe then chancellour to prince Arthure, and one Mr. Lynan and others, to the King's tresory house at Caernarvon and there sawe and reade in the King's records that the seid church of Clenocke Vaure was in the presentac'on of the prynces of Walles and syns the subdiu'con [or subdm'con, for submission] of Walles the same was in the King's patronage; and forthermore saithe that he then putt a tagge to the seid recorde for a memory written with his owne hande etc.; and also saithe that the King's com'yssion was directed to John Puleston esquier, Owen Hollande esquier, and to Mr. Geiffrey Ruthyn clerke, by vertue of whice com'yssion they empanelled one Hoell ap Ieuan ap Gruffithe and other his co'mrours tenquere

<sup>1</sup> A marginal note in another hand adds:—"The surveyore of all the Kyng's lands in North Wales, in Kyng Henry the VIIth's days." Other marginal notes of a similar character appear to the different witnesses.

[to enquire] for the King's patronage in North Walles, whiche Hoell then beyng forman of the seid enquest founde that the seid church of Clenocke Vaure w<sup>th</sup> other churches and chapells was intruded by the bushoppe of Bangor to be of the King's patronage. And also saithe that the King's grace is verey patron of the seid church of Clenocke Vaure with the churchis and chapells thereto belongyng.

Morgan Newbur'ghe, clerke, late preposito<sup>r</sup> of the saide Clenocke vaure of thage of lxxij yeres and more, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposith that one Mr. Mathew Pole, clerke, had the b'n'fice of Clenocke vaure by the presentac'on of prynce Arthur, and so obteyned the same (against one Mr. Will'm Sagarde then beyng incu'bent of the seid church by the collac'on of the bushope of Bangor) and died preposito<sup>r</sup> of the said church, after whose decesse this deponent hadde the seid prepositorship of Clenocke vaure by the collac'on of the seid bushope and therof had possession; and sone [soon] after this deponent was vexed by reason of the King's title to the seid patronage, as principally by vertue of a certen co'myssion directed by King Henry the vij<sup>th</sup> aboute the xxj<sup>th</sup> or xxij<sup>th</sup> yere of his raigne to John Puleston esquier, Owen Holland esquier and Jyffrey Ruthyn clerke to enqyre of and for all the King's patronage w<sup>th</sup>in the iij shires of North Walles, wherupon the seid co'myssioners empanelled iij enquests for the seid iij shyres of North Walles, and for Caernarvonshire they empanelled Hoell ap Lli' ap Ieuan ap Griffith as fforman of the seid enquest w<sup>th</sup> other his co'morers; and so this deponent saithe that he gave xxvjs. viij*d*. to the seid Owen Hollande to be his frende in the seid mater, and vjs. viij*d*. to John ap Madok ap Hoell then beyng deputie shireiffe of Caernarvonshire ou' [over] and besides xxs. whiche this deponent spent upon the seid enquest, bi [by] reason wherof this deponent did kepe his seide b'n'fice of Clenocke; and forther saith that he had loste his saide b'n'fice if he had not then labored his saide mater and had not gyven the forseide some of money at that tyme, and that by reason of the King's title etc. And also this depon't saithe that he supposithe that the seid Hoell ap Lli' and other his co'mrers did fynde the saide patronage of Clenocke vaure to be of the King's title as the right of his crowne, and

for the true knowledge of the seid verdict he refferith his knowledge to the seid Hoell ap Lli' forman of the seid jury w<sup>th</sup> other his fellowes; and forther saithe and deposithe that he had never resigned the seid b'n'fice of Clenocke vaure to doct<sup>r</sup> Glynne nor to no other p'son but for feare of the King's title; and also saithe that he knowithe p'fectly the seid Clenocke to have bene a monastery of the p'nces [prince's] foundac'on, by vertue wherof he hath had p'fect knolage that the King's heighnes was and is veray patrone of the seid b'n'fice. Wherefore this deponent saithe that he was glad to be rid of the seid church and to accept ij litle b'n'fices for the same.

Gruffithe ap John Coytmore of the countie of Caernarvon gentilman of thage of lxiiij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that he herde sayd by many credible p'sons that the King's grace oughte to have the patronage of Clenocke vaure w<sup>th</sup> thapp'tennces and chapells thereunto belongyng; and further saythe that S<sup>r</sup> Morgan Newburghe late incu'bent there did resigne the seid prepositure unto Doctor Will'm Glynne for feare lest that John ap Madoke ap Hoell late depute shireif of Caernarvonshyre shuolde cause an enquest of office to fynde the King's right in the saide patronage, and therefore toke ij other b'n'fices of the seid Doctor, beyng yerely valued at xiiij*li*. vjs. viiij*d*. bothe. And also saithe that he harde dyvers auncient credible p'sons saye that the saide church was a religious house or monastery of the prynce's foundac'on. And also saithe that bifore the seid S<sup>r</sup> Morgan Newburghe one S<sup>r</sup> Mathew Pole had the presentac'on of the seid patronage throughe the guyfte of prince Arthur, and obteyned the same ageynst one Will'm Sagarde clerke then incu'bent of the seid church by collac'on of the bushope, and the same Mathew Pole died incu'bent there, after whose decesse the bushop of Bangor and the seid S<sup>r</sup> Morgan usurped upon the king's and the p'nce's right and possession in the seid patronage.

Hoell ap Lli' ap Ieuan ap Griffithe the King's contrroller in North Walles, ge'tilman, of thage of lx yeres and more, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that the seid church of Clenocke vaure is situate and leyng within the towne of Clenocke wher the King's grace is chieffe lorde of the same towne, and also saith that a co'mission was directed to John Puleston

esquier, Owen Holland esquier, and Mr. Jeiffrey Ruthyn clerke aboute the xxj<sup>th</sup> or xxij<sup>th</sup> yere of King Henry the vij<sup>th</sup> tenquiere of and upon all the King's patronage in North Walles, wherupon the seid co'myssioners by vertue of the seid co'mission empanelled this deponent and Hoell ap Gruff. ap Meredith ap Tegwared, Morris ap Gruff. ap Ieuan, John ap Ieuan ap M[er]ed[ith], Res ap Ieuan ap John Carreke, Edmonde ap R's ap Gwellym, Rice ap Hoell ap Ieuan ap D'd, Will'm ap Hoell ap Ieuan ap D'd, Hoell ap Madocke ap Hoell, John Madryn and others to enquire of the gyfte and presentac'on of the seid patronages, and so this deponent and other his co'mrers upon thevidences and records to the' showed oute of the tresory house upon their othes founde (this deponent beyng forman of the seid enquest) that the King had the guyfte and presentac'on of the seid patronage of Clenocke vaure and other churcheis many; and forther saithe in all things as Griffith ap John Coytmore, former deponent, hathe saide.

Hoell ap John ap Lli' of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lxxx yeres or therabout, sworne and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that he saw one Jeiffrey Treyffnant clerke incu'bent of Clenocke vaure by the presentac'on of King Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup>, and occupied the same during his lyfe, w<sup>th</sup> whom this deponent was well acquaynted. And forther saithe that one Mathew Pole clerke had the seid church of Clenocke vaure throughe the presentac'on of prince Arthur, and occupied the same during his life by force wherof this depon't saithe that the King's grace oughte to have the patronage of the seid church. And also saith that the seid church was a monastery bfore this tyme of this p'nce's f'undac'on, and also saithe that this deponent went to prynce Arthur's court at Ludlow withe letters unto the seid Matheo Pole t'obtenye the seid b'n'fice to ferme from Will'm ap Gruffith ap Robyn esquier knowyng the seid Mathew Pole to be incu'bent of the seid church through the prince's presentac'on etc. And also saithe that the seid church of Clenocke is situate and lying in the towne of Clenocke whereof the King is chief lorde, etc.

Moris ap Hoell ap Gruffith ap Meredith of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xliij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe, saithe and deposithe

that the seid church of Clenocke is situate and lying w<sup>th</sup>in the seid towne of Clenocke, and that the King's grace is chiefe lorde of the same, and as fer furthe as he ever herde say the seid church of Clenocke is of the King's presentac'on; and forther saith that the saide church was a monastery as he doithe well knowe by a booke called Graphus S'ci Bewnoi and other writings. And also saith that Hoell ap Gruffith ap Meredith, father to this deponent was fermor unto the seid Mathew Pole late incu'bent of the seid church, and as he harde say, the same Mathew had the seid church throughe the presentac'on of prince Arthur, and occupied the same during his life, etc.

Madoke ap Gwilym of the countie of Caernarvon, yeoman, of thage of lxxx yeres or therabout, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposithe that the seid church of Clenocke is situate and lying w<sup>th</sup>in the towne of Clenocke as the other deponents have bfore saide. And saythe that he saw Jeiffrey Treifnant, clerke, beyng p'son in Clenocke vaure throughe the guyfte and p'sentac'on of King Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup>, and that the seid Jeiffrey obteyned the same by the helpe of his kynsmen Edward Beawpy and Piers Beawpy beyng then the king's s'uants, and that this deponent did co'men [commune] w<sup>th</sup> the seid Geiffrey then incu'bent of the seid church of Clenocke vaure cons'nyng [concerning] the patronage of the same church, and the seid Geiffrey shewed this deponent dyv's tymes that he had the saide b'n'fice by the King's p'sentac'on as is abovesaide, and this deponent was hired s'uant with the saide Jeiffrey the space of vj yeres bi reason wherof this deponent had p'fect knowledge by familier co'municac'on in the premisses; and forther deposithe that Mathew Pole clerke obteyned the seid b'n'fice of Clenocke by the presentac'on of prince Arthur, and decessed p'son there, as dyv's of the countrey do well knowe.

Thomas ap Gruffithe ap Jenkyn ap Res of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xlvij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that the said church is situate w<sup>th</sup>in the towne of Clenocke, in maner and forme as the former deponent hath saide. And also saithe that he harde D'd ap Hoell ap Ieuan ap Hoell say unto Morgan Newburghe clerke (beyng p'son of

Clenocke vaure throughe the bushop's collac'on after the decesse of Mathew Pole clerke) that the seid Morgan oughte not to be p'son there inasmuche as the King's grace ought of right to have the patronage of the seide church. And therupon the seid D'd ap Hoell enformed John ap Madocke ap Hoell then deputie shireif of Caernarvonshire of the p'misses, wherupon the seid John ap Madocke empanell[ed] an enquest upon the triall of the same, and so the seid S<sup>r</sup> Morgan for feare of losing the seid church made an exchaynge with Doctor Will'm Glyn for other ij b'n'fits valued bothe at xxxi marks.

Gruffithe ap Ieuan ap Gruffithe of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lx yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposith that he was familiarly acquaynted w<sup>th</sup> Jeiffrey Treifnant then beyng incu'bent of Clenoke vaure, and that the saide Jeiffrey Treifnant at dyu'se and soundry tymes declared and showed unto this deponent that King Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup> presented hym in the seid church of Clenocke vaure, and that he obteyned his presentac'on at the instance of his kynsmen Edward Beawpy and Peirs Beawpy beyng then the King's s'uants; and forther saith that he sawe one Mathewe Pole clerke presented to the seid church of Clenocke by prynce Arthur; and forther saith that he was present in the King's Exchequer at Caernarvon when he harde one Rob't Sittall then chamb'layne of North Walles desire the seid Mathew Pole to institute and make one Hughe Maynan clerke his fermor of the seid church of Clenocke, inasmuche as he had holpen him to the same, wherunto the seid Mathew answered and saide that he had sett the p'misses to one Rob't ap Meredith, gentilman, and that he obteyned the seid church by vertue of the King's gifte, and not by his helpe only; and also saith that the saide church is w<sup>th</sup>in the seid towne of Clenocke as is aforesaide.

Edmonde Lewis, p'son of Egglosaill [Llangadwaladr, co. Anglesey] of thage of lxxij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposith that the saide church of Clenocke is situate w<sup>th</sup>in the towne of Clynocke where the King's highnes is chief lorde of the same towne. And also saith that the seid church was sometyme an abbey of the prync's foundac'on; and forther saith that he harde dyverse credible auncient

p'sons saye that one Maister Jeyffrey Treifnant was presented to the seid church by King Edward the iiijth; and forther saithe that he sawe one Mathew Pole clerke presented by prynce Arthur to be preposito<sup>r</sup> of the seid church of Clenocke, and died preposito<sup>r</sup> there; and forther saith that he saw a cedill [schedule] in the whiche was written that Clenocke vaure was in the King's patronage, whiche cedill was in the custody of Doctor Morie' Glyn then this deponent's maister, and that the seid cedill was copied unto the seid doctor out of the King's records then remaynyng in the King's thresorye at Caernarvon.

Richard Gybbon of the countie of Caernarvon, gentleman, regester [registrar] to the bushope of Bangor of thage of xl yeres or therabout, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe and deposithe that he saw a bryf and kalendar of the handwrytyng of John Ffoxwist, beyng clerke of the King's exchequer and sercher of the King's tresory house, that the King's grace shoulde have the presentac'on and patronage of Clenocke vaure; and forther saith as he harde say that S<sup>r</sup> Matheo Pole was p'son there, throughe whose p'sentac'on he knoweth not; and also saith that he harde say that the seid church was a monastery of the prince's foundac'on.

John ap Hoell ap Matto of the countie of Caernarvon, yoman, of thage of lxxy and more, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposeth that the seid church of Clenocke is sett and lying w<sup>th</sup>in the seid towne of Clynnocke where the King's grace is chief lorde of the seide towne; and also saithe that the King's grace oughte to have the gifte of the seid church of Clenocke vaure, and that Jeyffrey Treifnant was p'son there by the King's guyfte as he harde saye for verey trouthe by this deponent's father and other his elders whiche were nye [nigh] neybour to the seid Jeyffrey Treifnant, and of famylier acquayntance. And forther saithe that one Mathew Pole clerke, had the seid church of Clenocke by the p'sentac'on of prynce Arthur, and that the seid Mathew openly reported the same before all the p'ishioners in the seid church of Clenocke, this deponent then present, with many others. And forther this depon't saith that he harde saye that Ffoulke Salisbury clerke had the same church of Clenocke by p'sentac'on of King Henry the viith in the begynnyng of his reigne.

Will'm Gruffithe of the countie of Caern' gentilman of thage of lj yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saithe that the seid church is sett w<sup>th</sup>in the seid towne of Clynnocke wherof the King is chief lorde. And forther saithe that Mathew Pole, clerke, was presented to the same church of Clenocke vaure by prynce Arthur, and that the seid Mathew Pole died p'son there, and as he supposith the King's heighnes is veray patrone therof.

Gruffithe ap D'd ap Robert of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xxx yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe, saith and deposith that he harde dyverse and soundry credible p'sones say that the church of Clenocke vaure was in tyme paste a monastery called th'abbey of Clenocke; and forther saithe that he harde say comenly that one Mathew Pole clerke was presented by p'nce Arthur to the seid church of Clenocke vaure; and forther saithe that the same church is situate w<sup>th</sup>in the towne of Clenocke, wherof the king's heghnes is chief lorde.

Robert Cumb[er]bache, burges of the towne of Caernarvon, of thage of xxxviiiij yeres, sworn and examyned upon his othe saith and deposith that he hathe seen and knoithe where a writing is of the handewriting of Edmonde Gruffithe conf'myng the patronage of Clenocke tpe. H. iiijti [tempore Henrici IVti] after thes words folowyng Nota q' diu'si luerunt penas [sic] pro fraudulenta et iniusta possessione captam eccl'ia [sic] de Clenocke vaure que est ex fundac'oe et donac'oe d'ni principis, etc.

Will'm ap Robert ap M'ed' of the countie of Caernarvon in North Walles, esquier for the king's body of thage of xxvj yeres, Edmonde Lloid ap Robert ap Meredith of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lj yeres, Gruffithe ap Will'm ap Madocke vich'n of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of lviiij yeres, Wil'm ap Hoell ap Madock of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of xlviiij yeres, John ap Rob't ap Lli' ap Ithell of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of xlviiij yeres, Gruffithe Lewes of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lx yeres, John Spicer, burges of the towne of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lx yeres, Thomas Bulkeley burges of the town of Bewmares, gentilman, of thage of l yeres, Ieuan Coytmore, burges of the towne of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lx yeres, Will'm Byesley burges of the same towne of

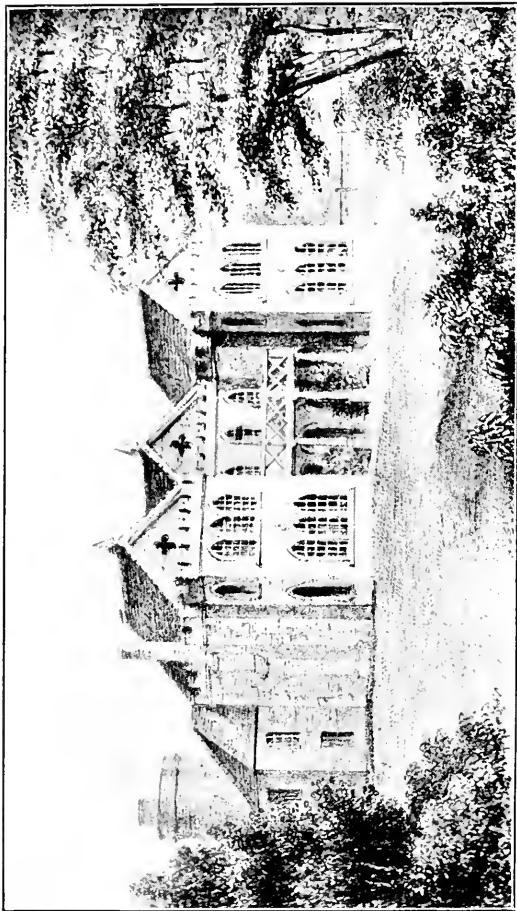


the age of xxxviij yeres, Ritherch ap D'd ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n ap Edeneved of the countie of Anglesey, gentilman, of thage of lvj yeres, Hughe Maynan clerke, of thage of lxxvj yeres, Thom<sup>a</sup>s ap Gruffithe ap Jenkyn ap Res of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xlviiij yeres, Will<sup>a</sup>m ap Rynalde ap Meredith of the countie of Merionethe, gentilman, of thage of xxxvj yeres, William Coytmore of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xxix yeres, David ap Robert ap Meredith of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of lvi [yeres], Madoke ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n ap Gruffithe of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of lx yeres, Rob't ap Will<sup>a</sup>m ap Meredith ap Res of the seid countie, gentilman, of the age of lij yeres, Rob't ap Res ap Hoell ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n vich'n of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of lvij yeres, Hughe ap John Madryn of the seid countie, gentilman, of the age of lvj yeres, Richarde ap Moris ap Gruffith ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n of the same countie, gentilman, of thage of xxxviij yeres, Ieu<sup>a</sup>n ap Hoell ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n ap Gwilym of the countie of Anglesey, gentilman, of thage of lxxvj yeres, Hughe ap Will<sup>a</sup>m ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n ap D'd Bangor of the countie of Caernarvon, gentilman, of thage of xliij yeres, John ap Res ap Gwilym of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lvj yeres, Gruffith ap Lli' ap Grono of thage of lxxvj yeres of the same countie, gentilman, Robert ap John ap Meredith ap Tygwared of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of xxxvj yeres, John ap Hoell gwynneth of the same countie, gent., of thage of xxxviij yeres, Yer' [Iorwerth] ap Lli' ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n ap Hulkyn of the same countie, gent., of thage of lx yeres, Will<sup>a</sup>m ap Ris ap Hoell of the seid countie, gentilman, of the age of lvj yeres, Moris Gethyn ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n ap Res of the same countie, gent., of thage of lij yeres, David ap Rob't ap D'd ap Ieu<sup>a</sup>n vich'n of the same countie, gentilman, of the age of lv yeres, Rob't ap Meredith ap D'd of the countie of Caernarvon, yoman, of thage of lxiiij yeres, Robert ap Res ap Gruffithe of the same countie, yoman, of thage of lvj yeres, Lewes Gwyn of the seid countie, gentilman, of thage of lij yeres, Owen ap D'd ap Robyn of thage of xlviiij yeres and Gruffithe vich'n ap Gruff ap D'd of the seid countie yoman of thage of liij yers, sworn and examyned do saye fynde and depose upon their othes that the King's highnes is the veray patrone of the seid church of Clenocke vaure with churches and chapells therunto

belongyng or apperteynyng, and that his grace ought to present an incu'bent there as in the right of his crowne and non other, inasmoche as the seid church before this tyme was of the prync's foundac'on, and by the subducc'on [subjection] of Walles the saide church was of the King's patronage as in the right of his crowne and dignitie, as playnly did appere by records l'res patents and evidences to thes deponents showed and declared. In wytenes wherof we the saide Co'myssioners to all and every deposicions and sayngs above rehersed, and other the premisses have sett our sialles and subscribed our names the day and yere afore specified.

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OLD WHADDON HALL (Circ. 1705).

*Reproduced from Lipscomb's "History of Buckinghamshire".*

# The Selby Romance.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WELSH CLAIMS TO A  
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE ESTATE.

By FRANCIS GREEN.

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THERE are probably few suits which have presented more romantic features or afforded more openings for the imagination than those relating to the ownership of the Selby estate, which included the property called Whaddon Chase in Buckinghamshire. In the first place, repeated actions with a view of recovering the property have been brought during the past 120 years, the last in fact having been decided in favour of the present owner as recently as in 1900. In the next place, there are various misconceptions as to the nature of the property in question prevalent in different parts of the country; and thirdly, genealogists have been, and possibly still are, striving to discover the lost heir. At first sight an account of legal proceedings to recover an estate in England which belonged to an English family would scarcely seem appropriate for a journal devoted to Welsh interests, but as a matter of fact one of the earliest claimants was a member of a Pembroke-shire family, and if I am not mistaken the last action was brought by an assignee of a descendant of the same line.

That the Selby case was of widespread interest is evidenced by the fact that a history of the Selby family was published in 1825. The work, which is entitled *Selbyana*, was printed by Francis Jollie, of Carlisle, and

the edition was probably but small, as copies of it are scarce. The story, as told by the author, may be briefly summarised as follows :—

Richard Selby, the founder of the family, who was born on the borders of the Solway Frith, left his native county precipitately about 1628 through fear of “a criminal and even felonious offence by him committed”, and eventually turned up at Salford, in Bedfordshire. His baptism is officially recorded in 1609; he was buried at Salford, and was said to have been a schoolmaster. His wife’s name was Isabella, but her family and county were unknown. The marriage was probably solemnised before he left Cumberland; he had (? two) sons, James and William, the latter, whether son or brother, died in 1635 and was buried at Salford. James was twice married and was the father of a numerous family. His mother Isabella died in 1644-5 and was buried at Salford where she probably resided after she became a widow in 1634. There is no record of James’s baptism in Salford, so probably he was born in the north, or before his father settled in that town. In 1647 James Selby entered the Inner Temple and was there described as of Salford. He administered his mother’s effects in that year. He married, about 1630, Hester Sandys, daughter of Henry Sandys, of Little Horwood, or Harwood, on the confines of Whaddon Chase in Buckinghamshire. According to Mr. Pitt,<sup>1</sup> Rector of Great Brickhill, in Buckinghamshire, James, the eldest son of Richard Selby, was the first of the family to settle in that county, and was a “scrivener of no distinction, and no one can trace the family beyond him.” Sir Walden Hanmer, Bart.,<sup>2</sup> who was about eighty years of age, more than forty years ago informed Mr. Cole, the antiquary, that the first of the Selbys at Wavendon was retained as a domestic or agent by the family of Charnocke, who lived at Hulcot, in Bedfordshire. Hester Sandys died in 1654 and was buried at Little Horwood, leaving, it is believed, no issue. In 1655 James

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Rev. T. Pitt, dated 19 January 1773, to Mr. Cole (Cole’s MSS., Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* No. 5,840).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cole’s MS. says:—“I was told by Mr. Walden Hanmer in 1765 . . . that the Sergeant’s father was a domestic servant of the Charnock family of Holcok, and originally came out of Yorkshire.” *Add. MSS.*, Brit. Mus., No. 5,839).

Selby took as his second wife Margaret, daughter of John Wells, and shortly afterwards moved to Wavendon, where he acquired property and built a residence. He died in 1688, and had by his wife, Margaret, six children, viz.:—Rebecca, James, Hannah, Charles, Margaret and William. Rebecca, the eldest daughter, appears to have died unmarried in 1692. James, the second child, afterwards Serjeant-at-Law, married Mary, daughter of Sir Rowland Alston, of Odel, Bedfordshire. Hannah, the third child, died in 1665, when six years old. Charles, the fourth child, was born in 1662 but nothing is known as to him; it would seem that he went abroad, and the author states that Thomas James Selby, the last of his name, used to say that “his heir was at sea, unless the fishes has got him.” Margaret, the fifth child, married William Langston, of Husborne Crawley, a staunch Roman Catholic; she died in 1737, and was survived by her husband for some twelve years. William, the sixth child, entered the Inner Temple in 1694, and died at the age of fifty-five; he owned a small estate at Husborne Crawley, and it is believed that he left a widow. His first wife Elizabeth died in 1728 and “his supposed second wife’s name has been told me in confidence, but we forbear to mention it”. His property ultimately vested in his nephew Thomas James Selby; “two ladies are spoken of as living there; who are they? surmises will intrude”.

Serjeant James Selby, the son of James Selby and Margaret Wells, was born in 1658 and died in 1724. From his marriage with Mary Alston he had two children, Mary who was born in 1716 and died in 1717, and Thomas James Selby, who was born in 1717 and was buried at Wavendon in 1772.

Such is the story told by the historian of the Selby family, and we will now see how far it is borne out by available records. The first document is the administration of the goods of Isabella Selby of Salford, which was granted in 1647 to her son James Selby, but there is nothing to prove that he was the James Selby who married Margaret Wells. I have found no will or administration of James Selby, but his son, Serjeant James Selby, executed a somewhat lengthy testament, which however does not afford much information as to his relatives. In effect, the testator, after bequeathing legacies to his

wife and to charities, devises his property to his son Thomas James Selby, who was then under age, with remainder, in the event of his dying without issue before attaining his majority, to William, the testator's brother, subject to an annuity to his sister Langston. The only other relatives mentioned in the will, which was proved in 1724, are: "my brother and sister Selby" and "aunt Lewin."

The will of Mrs. Mary Selby, the wife of James Selby, proved in 1729, mentions the testatrix's "brother Selby" and her "sister Langston"; also her son Thomas James Selby, who is made residuary legatee subject to certain legacies, and a bequest to "dear Dolly Selby" of twenty guineas. The identity of this Dolly Selby is unknown, but it is probable, from the phraseology employed, that she was a relative of the family, as the only other person to whom the epithet "dear" is applied in the will is the testatrix's son, Thomas James Selby. The author of *Selbyana* suggests that she was an illegitimate daughter of the Serjeant, who afterwards married a person of the name of Medcraft, and that her issue eventually set up an idle claim to the estate, as heir-at-law of Thomas James Selby, but there is no proof that this is the case.

Thomas James Selby on attaining his majority came into possession of the estate, which is stated by *Selbyana* to have been worth £10,000 per annum. His will, with a codicil, was proved in 1772, and as the dispositions contained in them have given rise to the numerous suits in regard to the Selby estate, they are worth more than a passing notice. After directions as to interment and his grave, which was to be marked by no monument or inscription, he devised to his right and lawful heir-at-law, "for the better finding out of whom I direct advertisements to be published immediately after my decease, in some of ye public



papers," the manors of Whaddon and Nash, Whaddon Hall and all his property in the parishes of Whaddon, Nash, Great Horwood, Little Horwood, Singleborough, Tattenhoe, Mursley, Salden and Bletchley, in Buckinghamshire, subject to numerous legacies, among the beneficiaries being the following:—"My cousin" Temperance Bedford, daughter of the late Mr. Arthur Bedford, Minister, of Sharnbrooke, in Bedfordshire; Mr. Franklin, who married Miss Elizabeth Wells; Miss Nelly Wells and Mrs. Franklin, late Katherine Wells; and Mrs. Ann Kent, sister of Temperance Bedford.

In the event of his heir-at-law not being found the testator constituted Mr. William Lowndes, of Winslow, Buckinghamshire, then a Major in the Militia, his lawful heir, on condition that he changed his name to Selby. The testator devised his property in St. Clement's Churchyard, in the parish of St. Clement's-le-Danes, London, his property in Ely, in Cambridgeshire, and his manor of Westingford Bury, in the county of Hertford, to trustees for sale, the proceeds to be divided in equal shares between the Foundling Hospital, Magdalen House, and the Asylum in Lambeth parish, London. According to *Selbyana*, however, these charitable bequests, owing to legal impediments, were never carried into effect. To Mrs. Elizabeth Hone, *alias* Vane, who, the author of *Selbyana* says, was the mistress of the testator, was given for her life all dividends from Bank and South Sea Stock, the testator's dwelling-house at Wavendon and all property at Wavendon, Grove, Husborne Crawley, Heath and Roath, in the counties of Buckingham and Bedford. Temperance Bedford was made residuary legatee, and Mrs. Hone was appointed one of the executors.

After the death of Thomas James Selby, the following advertisement was inserted in the public papers:—

**TO HEIRS AT LAW.**—If any person can prove himself or herself to be the heir at law of Thomas James Selby, late of Wavendon, in the county of Buckingham, Esq., such person by the will of the said Thomas James Selby, which is proved in Doctors Commons, London, is entitled to Whaddon Chase and other considerable estates in the said county of Buckinghamshire. Enquire of Mr. Ambrose Reddall, Attorney-at-law, Evershott, near Woburn, in the county of Bedford. N.B.—No letter to Mr. Reddall will be received unless post paid.

Whether this invitation found an immediate response I do not know, but in 1775 a person named<sup>1</sup> Oliver Thorne brought an action against Mr. Lowndes to recover the property, but without success, and in the same year Welsh claimants began to collect evidence in North Pembrokeshire, a district which produced at least four or five alleged heirs-at-law. So far as I have been able to ascertain, most of these claimed through a Thomas Selby, of Nevern, who was alleged to be the father of James Selby, the grandfather of Thomas James Selby. In view of the descent given by the author of *Selbyana*, it is not easy to see how the Buckinghamshire Selbys had any connection with Wales. It will be remembered that the father of the first James Selby was said to be Richard Selby, whereas the Welsh claim appears to have been based on the theory that his name was Thomas. Curiously enough another version of the Selby genealogy is given in Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, published in 1847, which states that the grandfather of Thomas James Selby was Thomas Selby, of Gloxhall, in Leicestershire, who was baptised in 1609, and in 1635 married Mary Smith. The same authority says that Thomas Selby had a son James, born in 1742, and a daughter Mary, baptised in 1643, who married William Smith, and that Thomas Selby died in 1643. Now it is practically certain that Serjeant

<sup>1</sup> Coles' MS., Brit. Mus.



James Selby, the father of Thomas James Selby, married Margaret Wells, and in view of the date given by Lipscomb for the death of Thomas Selby, it suggests that a generation has been omitted between Thomas Selby and his alleged son.

Let us now turn to the Welsh claims. Some interesting light is thrown on these claimants by a pamphlet in Dr. Henry Owen's possession which was printed about 1785, and entitled, "An authentic narrative of the singular and surprising conduct of Sir Watkin Lewes, knight, respecting his detention and concealment of an old Latin deed, delivered to him about ten years ago, for the purpose of making out and establishing the title of a poor person in Pembrokeshire, to the large estate of Thomas Selby, late of Wavendon, in the county of Bucks, Esq., who died in the year 1772." This pamphlet was written by John Duffield, who is described as "formerly of Medmenham Abbey, in the county of Bucks, but now of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, gent." How he came to be mixed up in the matter will be best told in his own words :—

John Duffield, of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, about eleven years ago, was applied to by Diana Bowen and Ann Thomas, two sisters, and near relations to the supposed heir-at-law to the large estate of Thomas James Selby, late of Wavendon, in the county of Bucks, Esq., deceased; and who relating a variety of circumstances which in Duffield's estimation gave some probability of establishing a title, and lamenting their inability to pursue the enquiry, he advanced money to Mrs. Bowen to carry her to Wales, and gave her in writing the best instructions he was capable of, for obtaining information in the business; and some matters coming out agreeable to his conjectures, he received a number of letters from several of the relations, who strongly importuned him to come to Wales, and accordingly, in the year 1777, he went and stayed there about a month, and

having collected every information he could on the subject, on his return to London he laid a state of evidence before counsel, who thought favourably of the case ; but as there was in existence an old Latin deed which was known to relate to the family, urged the necessity of procuring that deed, which about a year before had been delivered to Sir Watkin Lewes, at Cardigan, for the purpose of making out a title to the estate in question, who then declared it belonged to the Selbys, and expressed great satisfaction in its efficacy for the intended purpose ; and since often said that the claimants should not want a friend, and that he would put on his gown and plead the cause ; but a short time showing that his professions of friendship had no meaning, or no good one, numerous fruitless applications were made to him for a return of the deed, within a few months after he received it, and for a long time afterwards, but to this hour no person can be found who hath ever seen the deed since it was delivered to him at Cardigan. Some he told it was mislaid, but that it was witnessed by James Selby. One he told that it was witnessed by James Solby, and not by James Selby. To some he said that the names James Selby and Margaret Wells were often repeated in the deed ; to another he said that those names were written towards the bottom of the deed. Others he told that the deed would be hurtful to the cause ; some he informed that it would cut their throats, drawing his finger across his neck. Sometimes he declared that he had read it, but could not remember one tittle of its contents ; at other times that he could not understand it, but that he knew it to be as useless as waste paper. But the hopes derived by these poor people, as well from his declaring it belonged to the Selbys as from a report, universally credited, that the names Jacobus Selby and Margaretta Wells were frequently repeated therein, encouraged them to take several journeys to London and divers other places in search of other evidence, and to get the deed from Sir Watkin, whereby a very considerable sum of money was expended, and many calamitous events are imputed to the treacherous detention of the deed. But the case of Thomas Selby, a little Welsh farmer, seems singularly affecting. This poor man, from his confidence in Sir Watkin's declaration about the deed, raised (as is reported) about £25 by sale of his cows, sheep, pigs, etc., as a joint contribution with several other of the relations towards the intended suit, which he paid to Benjamin Twynning, it having been agreed to send him to London to procure the deed from Sir Watkin, and commence

a suit for the recovery of the estate ; but the money being spent without obtaining the deed, and despairing to repair the loss, he is said to have died with grief, and was shortly after followed to the grave by his disconsolate wife, who left behind her eight orphan children, languishing under the miseries of helpless poverty.

Joseph Davis, another little Welsh farmer, tempted by the same flattering declarations of Sir Watkin, hazarded a much larger sum in journeys to various places, and three to London, died, and left his substance much impaired, to the great injury of his family, and as to Twyning, the agent, he was so much involved in debt as to be compelled to go to sea, and leave his wife and four children dependent on the bounty of his friends.

. . . . . It was often intimated to Duffield that the supposed heir-at-law was desirous to empower him to commence and carry on the suit ; and he, being a considerable sum out of pocket, determined to hazard the attempt, complied with the request, and accepted such a power accordingly ; and Mr. Lloyd, the owner of the deed, wishing also to see the business forwarded without any hazard to himself, executed a power to Duffield to sue for the deed, either in his name or in his own name, regarding the deed of no value whatsoever for any other purpose than that of establishing the right of the person who should appear to be entitled to the estate in question, by showing the connection and relationship between the Pembrokeshire and Buckinghamshire Selbys.

Under the advice of counsel, Duffield, in Hilary Term 1784,<sup>1</sup> filed a Bill against Sir Watkin Lewes under his own name by virtue of the letter of attorney given him by Mr. Lloyd. But before going any further it will be well to see who were the parties interested. On this point we get some light from the affidavits to the suit which are given in the pamphlet. In his affidavit sworn 15 April 1785 William Lloyd, who gave the power of attorney to Duffield, deposed that about ten or eleven years previously he was applied to by several persons who claimed a right to the estate of Thomas James Selby, and a deed, as they

<sup>1</sup> I have searched for this case in the indices for Chancery Bills in the Record Office, but without success.—F. G.





TREVIGIN East Aspect.

*(From a Photo by F. Green in 1903.)*



TREVIGIN—South Aspect.

*(From a Photo by F. Green in 1903.)*



had been informed, was to be found amongst the deponent's papers, then at Trevigin,<sup>1</sup> where deponent then lived, wherein the name of Selby was inserted ; that upon searching amongst his papers he found the document amongst some of the papers in the possession of his uncle, William Lloyd of Trevigin, then deceased ; and that the deponent then went to Cardigan and delivered the deed to Sir Watkin Lewes for his opinion on it, the deed being in Latin.

John Lloyd of Vagwrgoch, gentleman, in his affidavit deposed that he had been informed that some years previously one Jeremiah James requested deponent's brother, William Lloyd of St. Dogmaels, to permit him to search his family writings for a deed reported to have been executed by James Selby, and that on such search he found an old Latin deed wherein the names of Jacobus Selby and Margaretta Wells were several times written ; that the said Jeremiah James and William Lloyd took the deed to Sir Watkin Lewes, at Cardigan, when, as deponent had been informed, Sir Watkin declared that the deed belonged to the Selbys or to the Selby estate, and that he could put Jane Richards, the person then claiming the estate, in possession of it in six months, if she could keep back Thomas or Philip.

This statement is pretty well borne out by the affidavit of Jeremiah James, who adds that the maiden name of Jane Richards was Jane Selby. Now Jane Richards, as appears by her affidavit, was the wife of John Richards of Hodgson (probably Hodgston), in Pembrokeshire, a labourer. She corroborates the assertion as to Sir Watkin's admission that the deed belonged to the Selbys or to the Selby estate, and as to the name of Margaret Wells and of Selby appearing therein. She further

<sup>1</sup> In Moylegrove parish ; formerly spelt "Treviggin".—F. G.

asserted that Sir Watkin stated that she was the right heir to the Selby estate, and that by virtue of the deed he would put her in possession thereof in a short time. This evidence was fully borne out by the affidavit made by Thomas Williams of Manorbeer, a farmer, which was sworn in August 1786 before Mr. William Williams of Ivy Tower, a J.P. for the county and one of Pembroke-shire's by-gone archaeologists. The reference to Thomas and Philip Selby in the affidavit of John Lloyd is explained in this document. According to Williams, Sir Watkin stated that the deed plainly showed that the estate belonged to Jane Richards, if Thomas and Philip Selby were illegitimate, as was reported; in reply to which Williams said that he thought it could be proved that they were; on which Sir Watkin told Jane Richards not to enter into any agreement with any person in regard to the estate. Another claimant who was referred to by Duffield in his account given above was Joseph Davis of Treelyn, Pembrokeshire, on whose behalf and others a certain William Davis about 1780 attempted to obtain the famous deed from Sir Watkin Lewes, but without success.

We must now return to the suit instituted by Duffield. According to Duffield's account, Sir Watkin in his answer to the Bill admitted the receipt of the deed, which was "written in Latin on a skin of parchment or vellum"; he "found the handwriting so extremely bad and imperfect, and the words so much obscured by abbreviations and other peculiarities that it would be impossible for him to decypher the same or to understand the effect and meaning of the deed." He also stated that "upon seeing the name of Selby at the bottom of the deed, and it being reported that Thomas James Selby, or his ancestors, had been at Trevigin, the house of William Lloyd, in Pem-

brokeshire, and lived there with the ancestors of the said William Lloyd, and that he had gone from thence to Buckinghamshire, as could be proved by one Henry Pugh, who had been in Buckinghamshire, but then lived at Haverfordwest, it appeared to him (Sir Watkin) that some use might be made of the said deed, and that it might possibly tend to show the connection (if any) which subsisted between the said families."

Sir Watkin further said that on examining Henry Pugh in regard to the family of Thomas James Selby, he gave such inconsistent accounts of the matter, and also of the time when Thomas James Selby left Trevigin, "making the date some twenty or thirty years sooner or later than was reported in the country," that "he was obliged to reprimand him for having imposed on the credulity of so many ignorant persons." He denied that he ever asserted that the deed belonged to the Selby estate, or that he ever pretended that he could recover the estate for any of the parties by virtue of the deed. As to the whereabouts of the deed he believed that it was left with Thomas Morgan, Esq., of Carmarthen, a gentleman of fortune, who had been brought up to the profession of the law, and whom he recommended the claimants to employ in the matter. That the widow of said Thomas Morgan had replied to a letter sent by Sir Watkin, stating that she had seen some deed or paper with the name of Selby amongst the papers of her late husband, and that she believed that it was then in the custody of Thomas Jones of Carmarthen.

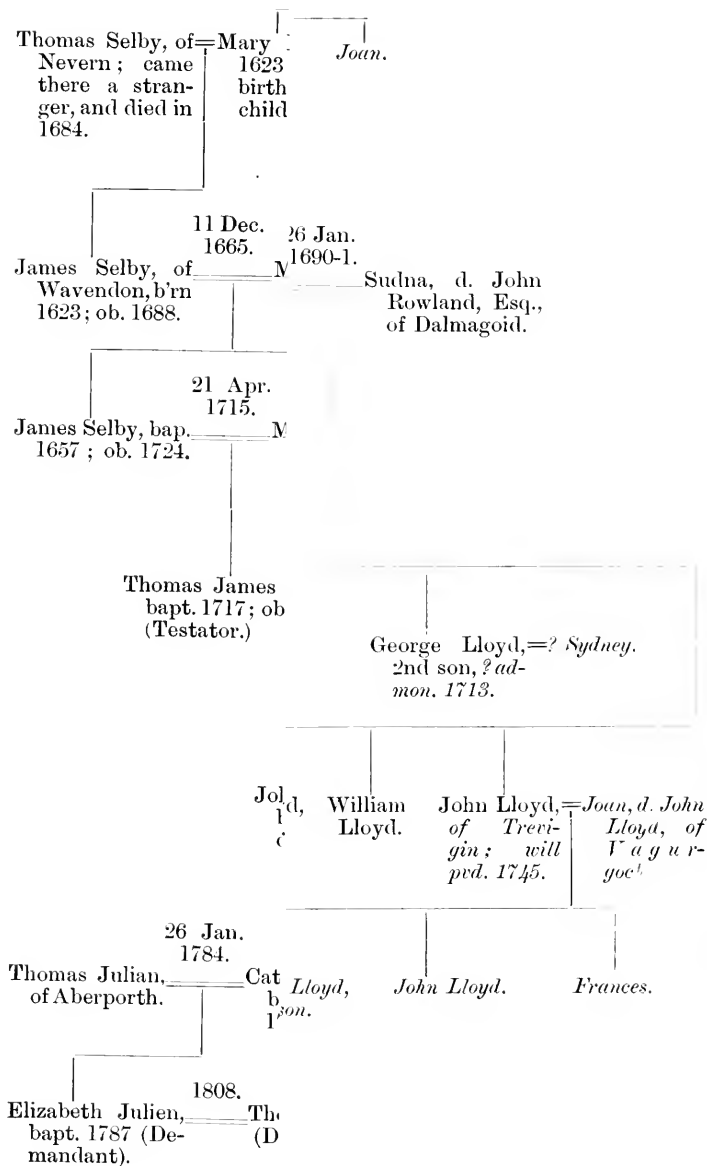
We now come to the conclusion of the suit. According to Duffield's account he was repeatedly advised by his counsel, while waiting for the case to be heard, to strike it out of the paper, as otherwise it would inevitably be dismissed with costs, the chief reasons assigned being that

the Bill was brought in Duffield's name instead of that of his principal. Duffield declined, and shortly afterwards his solicitor informed him that counsel had refused to have anything more to do with the case. As a result Duffield allowed it to be struck out, and resolved on the publication of a pamphlet to justify his conduct.

So far as can be discovered from Duffield's account, the claimants mentioned by him appear to have been all alleged descendants of the Selbys, but claimants through marriage also tried their luck. The Bill in the case of *Lowndes v. Selby* in 1776, states that claims were set up by Rachel Medcraft of the Liberty of Westminster, spinster, Ellen Wells of Wavendon, spinster, John Franklin of Bedford, maltster, and his wife Catherine (*nee* Wells), Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin of Wavendon, spinsters, Sir Thomas Alston, Bart., of Odel, Bedfordshire, Samuel Selby, Oliver Thorne of Charles Street, Westminster, and Elizabeth King, widow. It was argued by the orator, and eventually upheld by the Court, that Elizabeth Wells, John Franklin and his wife Catherine, Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin and Sir Thomas Alston were not admissible, as none of them claimed kindred to Thomas James Selby on the part of his father, or as being of the blood of the Selbys, which appeared to be the intention of the testator. That the testator knew that Sir Thomas Alston was his first cousin and heir-at-law on the part of his mother, and that Ellen Wells, Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin were his cousins and heirs-at-law on the part of his grandmother, whose maiden name was Wells; that Henrietta and Elizabeth Franklin lived in the same parish as the testator, and the said Catherine Franklin in the town of Bedford, while Temperance Bedford was the testator's cousin, and then the wife of Daniel Shipton, clerk, and related to the testator on the part of his



Green.)



mother, so that the testator could not have meant heirs on his mother's or grandmother's side, but left the property to the orator, provided no heir-at-law were found on the part of the said testator's father, or of the blood of the Selbys. With regard to the claim of Rachel Medcraft, who claimed to be descended from the testator on the part of his father, orator alleged that she was not entitled, as her mother was an illegitimate child; Oliver Thorne asserted that he was descended from . . . Selby, who he alleged was his great-grandfather and elder brother of James Selby, the grandfather of the testator, but the orator contended that the great grandfather of the said Oliver Thorne was not the brother of the said James Selby, the grandfather of the testator, and that Oliver Thorne was descended from another family. Elizabeth King, it was stated, declined to discover her pedigree, but had brought ejectments to recover the testator's estates.

I recently came across the pedigree in a case brought by a Pembrokehire claimant to recover the property. The suit in question was between Thomas Davies and his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Julien of Aberporth, and a descendant of the Lloyds of Trevigin. The suit was brought about 1808. It will be seen by the annexed chart (No. 2), that this claim was based on the ground that Thomas Selby, the alleged father of James Selby of Wavendon, the grandfather of Thomas James Selby, the testator, married a sister of James Lloyd of Trevigin, an ancestor of Elizabeth Julien, and that James Lloyd became entitled to the property as heir of his sister, the wife of Thomas Selby, on failure of heirs on his side. This, no doubt, is the case referred to by Lipscombe, which he says lasted several years, decisions being sometimes given in favour of Davies, and sometimes Lowndes. Now it is interesting to note that the James

Lloyd in question was a member of the Cwmgloyne family. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hayward or Howard, of Rudbaxton, and his father was Alban Lloyd, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Perrott of Haroldston, and was the brother of Evan Lloyd of Cwmgloyne.

The first action by Davies was heard in the Court of Common Pleas on 27th April 1835, and the claim was based on Mrs. Davies being the heir-at-law to the paternal grandmother of the testator. The defence<sup>1</sup> was (1) that the words of the will were words of special limitation; (2) that a fine which had previously been levied with proclamations by Mr. Lowndes, rendered his title perfect, and was a bar to all the rest of the world; (3) that the plaintiff's right, if any, had been barred by an adverse possession of upwards of sixty years; (4) that Mrs. Davies, even if she proved her pedigree, was not the heir-at-law of Thomas James Selby, because the next blood of the paternal great-grandmother would inherit before that of the paternal grandmother. The report in *The Times* throws no great light on the evidence tendered, but it seems that the judge summed up dead against the plaintiffs, and expressed the view that Mr. Lowndes's father was rightly in possession of the property when he levied the fine, and the jury found a general verdict for the defendant. A Bill of Exceptions against the verdict was tendered and allowed. On the 11th May 1838 the appeal was heard, and in giving judgment Baron Parke said that the construction of the Court below, that "the right and lawful heir" meant the right heir of the testator being also of the blood of the Selbys, was not warranted, and that the Court's duty was to interpret the meaning of the testator, and not to add to the conditions; that it had im-

<sup>1</sup> *The Times.*



posed an additional term, not expressed by the testator, and that the direction of the Lord Chief Justice that the Assize should find for the tenant on the above point as well as on the bar of the fine was wrong. The Court therefore awarded a "venire de novo".

The new trial, which was again by Writ of Right, was opened in November following. On the second of that month four knights assembled to select the recognitors, and after Serjeant Talfourd, who appeared for the demandant—Thomas Davies, the husband, had died since the previous hearing—had raised the point as to the propriety of two knights, who sat on the former trial, being allowed to serve again, the knights were sworn in the usual form, "they having first girded their loins with swords, handed to them for that purpose by the ushers. Having retired for some time, they returned with a list of recognitors they had chosen, and the Court named the 28th November for the trial. The knights then unbuckled their swords, returned them to the ushers, and withdrew."

On this occasion no effort was spared on either side to win the battle. An attempt was made by the plaintiff to change the venue to London, but this was unsuccessful. An application was also made by the plaintiff to have the evidence of Margaret Devonald of Pennybank, a woman of eighty years of age, taken by commission as she was too infirm to travel the two hundred and seventy miles to Westminster, and this was only granted on a medical certificate. On the 28th November the hearing of the trial commenced, and the names of the "Grand Assize", consisting of four knights of the shire and twelve recognitors, were called. Jurors in those days had much the same opinions in regard to remuneration as at the present time. One of the knights enquired if the

expenses were not to be defrayed, as they had to come from Buckinghamshire. Lord Chief Justice Tindal replied that he was afraid that there was no provision for this, and mentioned—presumably as consolation to the enquirer—that this was the last trial of the kind that could take place, the procedure having been abolished by Act of Parliament. The Attorney-General, who appeared in this as in the former case for Mr. Lowndes, then tendered the “demi-mark”, and the onus of proving the affirmative of the question lying on his client, proceeded to state his case.

From the reports of the Bill of Exceptions and of the present hearing we get the following details in regard to the prolonged litigation. It appears that soon after the death of the testator, Mrs. Elizabeth Hone, the executrix of the will brought a suit in Chancery to establish the will, and, in July 1773, William Lowndes was appointed receiver of the estate. The following October he filed a bill to establish his claim to the property, and in 1783 the Court decreed that he was entitled to it, and he accordingly took possession in April of that year. The last event was celebrated at Whaddon and Nash by rejoicings, “fiddling and dancing round a Maypole”. In 1784, a fine was levied on the property by him in the name of William Selby. The case for the defendant was much the same as in the former trial, but on this occasion the pedigrees of the testator and of the plaintiff appear to have received more attention. The object of the claimant was, of course, to prove the connection of Thomas Selby of Nevern, who married Mary Lloyd, with the Buckinghamshire Selbys. The Attorney-General, in opening his case, said that the main feature of the plaintiff’s case was the supposed will of James Lloyd, an attorney at Trevigin in Pembroke-shire, but he would prove that James Selby was the son of

Isabella Selby, who died in 1644, and that administration of her effects was granted to her son, James Selby, the grandfather of Thomas James Selby. This was a new development, the defendant having apparently only discovered this document since the first hearing, although curiously enough it was mentioned in *Selbyana*, which was published ten years previously. In fact, on this occasion, he adopted the theory of descent formulated by the author of that work, as the certificate of the burial of Richard Selby on 22 Sept. 1634, was one of the documents produced. Among these records were the following, which are interesting to the genealogist:—

Settlement on marriage of James Selby, the testator's grandfather, with Margaret Wells, which took place on 11th December 1655.

Settlement on marriage of Serjeant James Selby, with Mary daughter of Sir Rowland Alston, which was solemnised 21st April 1715.

Proof of the admission of the following to the Inner Temple:—James Selby of Salford, Beds, 1st July 1647; James Selby, son of James Selby of the Inner Temple, 15th Feb. 1676; Thomas James Selby, Esq., son and heir of James Selby, late Serjeant-at-law, deceased, 26th April 1744.

The Rector of Salford produced the following entries in the register of burials for his parish:—

Richard Selby, 22nd Sept. 1634; William Selby, 10th Feb. 1635; Isabella Selby, 10th Feb. 1644.

A deed was shown, dated 11th Jan. 1664, bearing the signature of James Selby, the grandfather of the testator; and evidence was produced that Mrs. Olebar, the daughter of Temperance Bedford, who had died since the previous trial, had proved the existence of a descendant of a nearer maternal branch than that through which the plaintiff claimed.

The estate, the Attorney-General said, was worth between £4,000 and £5,000 per annum, and had been in the posses-

sion of the Lowndes family for sixty years. The claim was brought only within a few hours of the expiration of the sixty years, which terminated on the 6th Dec. 1832, having been made on the previous day. He also laid stress on the fact that, although Erasmus Lloyd was alleged to be entitled to the property he made no attempt to secure it, neither did any of his descendants until Mrs. Davies brought the action in 1832.

We now come to the plaintiff's side of the question. Briefly her case was as follows :—James Selby, the husband of Margaret Wells, was the son of Thomas Selby of Nevern, and Mary Lloyd, the sister of James Lloyd of Trevigin, and this James and Mary Lloyd were the children of Alban (*The Times* report through a misprint says “Adam”) Lloyd, from whom Mrs. Davies, the plaintiff, and Thomas James Selby, the testator, were both lineally descended. James Lloyd had three sons, Evan, John, and George. John died a bachelor, and<sup>1</sup> Evan had an only son William, who died a bachelor. George had several sons, of whom Erasmus was the eldest. Erasmus Lloyd was eighty years of age at the date of the testator's death, and died two years afterwards. Erasmus left a son John, who married and had three daughters, Catherine, Frances and Mary, all of whom died in 1795, and the daughter of Catherine, the eldest of the three, was Mrs. Davis, the claimant. In support of the plaintiff's pedigree the following documents were produced :—(1) The registers of St. Dogmaels, showing the marriage of George Lloyd to Sudna Rowlands in January 1690, and the baptism of their son, Erasmus, in December 1691. (2) A transcript of the register of Denio, Carnarvonshire, showing the marriage of Erasmus Lloyd to

<sup>1</sup> The report in *The Times* of 30 Nov. 1838 appears to be inaccurate as to this genealogy. The above is taken from a pedigree filed in the case.

Catherine Jones on 24th April 1715, and the baptism of their children, John and Sudna.

In rebuttal of the defendant's allegation that Isabella Selby's son, James, was the grandfather of the testator, Serjeant Talfourd produced the will (in the custody of the Registrar of Oxford) of John Chilton of Berkshire, dated 12th May 1658, and proved 22nd Jan. 1668. This showed that John Chilton had a sister, Isabella Selby, who had a son James, at that date a schoolmaster at Reading, in Berkshire. This he contended was convincing evidence that the son of Isabella could not have been the testator's grandfather, who was at that time living at Salford. The Serjeant then proceeded to prove his client's pedigree. One document was a Welsh pedigree. It was produced by Morrice Williams, of Cwmgloyne, Pembrokeshire, whose grandmother was a Miss Lloyd of that place. He acquired that property about fifty years previously by devise from his kinsman, Thomas Lloyd, a member of the Lloyd family in question. He stated that on taking possession of the estate he found the pedigree in a drawer in a locked room in the mansion with other papers relating to the family property. On the back of the document was the following endorsement, which Mr. Williams proved to be in the handwriting of Thomas Lloyd :—

“ This is the pedigree of my family, Thomas Lloyd.”

At the foot was the following certificate :—

“ Collected from parish registers, wills, monumental inscriptions, family records and history. This account is now presented as correct, and as confirming the tradition handed down from one generation to another to Thomas Lloyd of Cwmgloyne this 4th July 1733, by his loving kinsman and sincere friend and very devoted servant, William Lloyd.”

This document was held to be inadmissible, though the custody from which it came was not deemed objec-

tionable, and the parties whose relationship it was sought to establish by it were known to the compiler. But although the pedigree was not admitted as evidence, it would be extremely interesting to know whether it is still in existence.

We next come to the proof of the connection of Thomas Selby of Nevern with the testator's ancestors. The first document was the will of Judith Odell, dated the 3rd June 1643, and proved the 13th Nov. 1643. It was produced by the Registrar of Bedford, and contained the following bequests:—

As for my temporal estate, I dispose of it in this manner. Item I give and bequeath to my dear cousins, Henry Lloyd of Soulberry, in the county of Bucks, clerk, and James Selby of Monnington, in the county of Pembroke, gentleman, all my live and dead stock, household furniture, plate, money and other effects, the same to be divided between them in equal parts, and as for my leasehold estate now in my occupation, I give the same to my dear cousins for their joint lives; and my will is that the longest liver shall take the whole.

The two cousins above-named were appointed executors.

The next document was produced by the Deputy Keeper of the Records at the Probate Court at Canterbury. It was the will of Henry Lloyd of Soulberry, Buckinghamshire, clerk, dated 11th April 1646, and proved 2nd May in that year. It contained a statement that the testator, when lately in Wales, had left money, chattels and other effects in the hands of friends there, and instructions to his executors to distribute them amongst certain persons as directed by the testator by a writing under his hand and seal, which writing was deposited by him in the hands of his sister, Ellen Ellis.

The most important document (see facsimile of will) was produced by Mr. Valentine Davis, the then Deputy Registrar of the Probate Court of St. Davids. This was



FACSIMILE (reduced)



James Lloyd

~~let's leave upon me and~~

Griffiths Proprietary in the  
 Methodist Church - viz the  
 Governor & Magistrate of the

Nellysine & ma  
 gewaffte Heere 25  
 my Krieger 254

2924

Fr. H. Hoyt

69

Jeffery



the will of James Lloyd of Monington, in Pembrokeshire, who died in 1669. It was dated the 19th Sept. 1669, and contained the following bequest:—

To James Selby of Wavendon, in the countie of Buckingham, the son and only issue of Thomas Selby of Neverne, in this countie, by my sister Mary, his deceased wife, the sum of fortie pounds of current English money.

The testator's messuage and lands in St. Dogmaels were devised to his son and heir, Evan, charged with payment to his two brothers, John and George, of eight score pounds, being four score pounds a year to each. To the testator's wife during her widowhood he gave half his messuages, etc., in Monington, and all his personal estate to his son Evan, whom he appointed executor. The inventory of his chattels annexed amounted to £39. The will was properly indexed, "*Testamentum Jacobi Lloyd de Monington, 1669*". Harris, a clerk to one Morgan, Thomas Jones's successor, proved that he found this will in a bag in the Consistory Court of Carmarthen, and the Rev. T. Griffith, who in right of his wife had preferred a claim to the estate which had been abandoned, stated that some years before he had found the name of James Lloyd of Monington in the index, and that the will was produced to him in the presence of two clerks in the office.

A deed of<sup>1</sup> release, dated 11th Oct. 1620, from Evan ap Rees to Alban Lloyd of Freystrop, and a bond, dated 11th Dec. 1629, in which Evan ap Rees was obligor, and Alban Lloyd obligee, were produced to show that Alban Lloyd was the purchaser of the Trevigin estate, and that it

<sup>1</sup> There is an old deed in the possession of Mr. J. H. Davies of Cwrtmawr, Cardiganshire, dated 12 March 1613, by which Elizabeth, the daughter of . . . Phillips, a widow living in the parish of Llantood, conveyed the farm of Trevigin to Alban Lloyd of Frestroppe, gent.—F. G.

descended in succession from James to Evan and to William Lloyd. Proof was also brought of the burial of James Selby (the grandfather of the testator) at Wavendon on 27th Oct. 1688.

Mr. Mussett, the Deputy Record Keeper of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury for twenty-five years, being called to speak as to the genuineness of the will of James Lloyd, stated that he had no reason to doubt that the will was genuine, and Mr. Courthorpe, a translator of old records with considerable experience, testified that to the best of his belief the document was genuine.

Mr. Valentine Davis also produced the will of William Lloyd of Trevigin, dated 4th Feb. 1734, which contained a bequest to the testator's cousin, Evan Lloyd (who married Anne Bowen), and a codicil in which it was stated that the Trevigin estate had in 1721 been settled on John, the third son of George Lloyd of St. Dogmaels, the son of James Lloyd.

On the other hand, the defendant called Mr. Holmes, the Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, and Messrs. Hardy—one of whom was chief clerk in the Record Office, and the other brother Assistant Record Keeper in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster—who unhesitatingly pronounced the will of James Lloyd not to be genuine, on account of the general character of the writing, its stiffness, and the total omission of marks of abbreviation. The inventory they admitted to be genuine. One of the Hardys suggested that the writer had the genuine will before him to copy from and succeeded in imitating it with tolerable accuracy, with the exception of the clause containing the bequest to James Selby, when, having no copy before him, he relapsed into his usual style. He also asserted that the paper on which the will was written and that containing the inventory—each a half sheet of fools-

cap—never had formed one sheet, assigning as a reason for this opinion the absence of a water-mark.

As rebutting evidence, several wills of the same date and from the same custody as the will in question were produced and shown to the witnesses, in which most of the alleged defects pointed out by them as evidences of forgery were found to exist. The paper also on which some of these wills were written had no water mark. This concluded the evidence, and after an absence of about an hour the Grand Assize brought in a verdict that the plaintiff had not made out her pedigree; that the defendant was in possession of the estate before levying the fine in 1784, and that he had taken, and was then known by, the name of Selby; in other words, it was a general verdict for the defendant.

In 1870 the different claimants in Wales were circularised with a view of once more taking action to recover the estate, and it was arranged that if they would agree to certain conditions a thorough investigation would be made into the whole case. Presumably the inaugurator of this movement was a Bristol man, named O. Parry. At all events a pamphlet<sup>1</sup> by him was published in English and Welsh in the following year, recording the results of his investigations. What the conditions were is not revealed, but Parry was as good as his word, and a case was drawn up and submitted to Mr. C. Chapman Barber, a Chancery Barrister, and to Mr. G. Osborne Morgan, Q.C. The case submitted was in great part a summary of what has gone before, but it also contained some additional information. It appears from the pamphlet that a Mr. Selby, who was alleged to be a cousin of the testator, Thomas James Selby, took proceedings for the recovery of the property in

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this pamphlet is in the possession of Mr. J. H. Davies, of Cwrtmawr, Cardiganshire.

1791, but abandoned them in 1795, because his attorney suddenly left for America. Proceedings were also taken by William Lloyd of Trevigin, an "ancestor of the present claimant", but he died before he proceeded far. In 1832 a Mrs. Frances Twining, *alias* Lloyd, took some legal steps, but these were abandoned. The most interesting feature, however, is found in the following extract from the case for counsel's opinion, which is given in the pamphlet:—

Elizabeth Davies, the demandant, who undoubtedly was one of the nearest of kin, was an illiterate person, and unable to speak the English language, so that she became the easy dupe of one John Bowen, a notorious adventurer in the town of Cardigan. In relation to the estates of Whaddon Hall, he was found<sup>1</sup> guilty at the Cardigan Assizes, in July 1838, of obtaining money from some people in Wales, pretending that they had a claim on the estates. He was tried, too, at Gloucester, on a charge of tampering with parish registers, and was sentenced to<sup>2</sup> seven years' transportation. While undergoing his sentence on board the hulks at Woolwich, he was there visited by Mr. Lowndes, and on his intercession was released before the expiration of his seven years' term of imprisonment. Bowen acted under powers of Attorney given to him by E. Davies, and there is no doubt that there was a secret arrangement for a compromise between Bowen and Lowndes, whereby the former was to be paid an annuity for his life, and to receive on behalf of the claimant the sum of £150,000, payable by instalments, extending over several years. It is believed that no portion of the latter sum has ever been paid, as Bowen died soon after the compromise was effected, and Elizabeth Davies also died in the same year as Bowen. After her death, namely, in the year 1855, Owen Davies, her son, filed a Bill in Chancery against William Selby Lowndes and John Richards, as the attorney of the deceased

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<sup>1</sup> The files of the *Carmarthen Journal* and *Welshman* of that date make no mention of this case at the assizes at Cardigan.—F. G.

<sup>2</sup> The registers in question were those of the parish of Croome d'Abitot, Worcestershire. (*See Carrington and Kirwaun's Reports*, vol. i, p. 501.)—F. G.

Bowen, with a view of enforcing the stipulation of the said alleged compromise. . . . Mr. John Richards, the attorney referred to, has been dead some two or three years, but his executor, Mr. Bleaymire, solicitor, Penrith, writes that he has in his possession some papers relating to the business.

It will suffice here to say that the opinion of both barristers was dead against the claimants. Further enquiry made of Mr. Bleaymire elicited that he had no papers relating to the alleged compromise, and Parry winds up his pamphlet by advising the claimants to abandon all idea of further proceedings, and expressed the opinion that Mr. Lowndes would not have entered into a secret compromise with a convicted felon. Parry also states that a Bill was filed in Chancery by a Mr. John Griffiths of Newport, in 1855, which recapitulated many of the statements contained in the above-mentioned case laid before counsel. This Bill, however, he adds, was not proceeded with. I have been unable to find any note of it among the entries in the Record Office.

The last claim on record<sup>1</sup> was an appeal in 1900 made by a person named Jenkins. This claim was based on an assignment dated 17th April 1897, by which a certain John Moore, the heir-at-law of one Thomas Selby, had assigned all his interest in the property to the plaintiff. The plaintiff's case was that Thomas Selby was the heir-at-law of Thomas James Selby, but that, owing to frauds perpetrated by interested parties, and to concealment of documentary evidence, he was unable to prove his title. It was stated that Thomas Selby married one Anne as his second wife, and by her had one child, Walter, through whom the plaintiff claimed. It was alleged that material entries of births, marriages, and deaths, including the entry in the parish

<sup>1</sup> *The Standard*, 14th June 1900.

register of this marriage, had been fraudulently removed, and that the concealment and frauds perpetrated between 1772 and 1784 rendered it impossible to prove by the then claimant that in 1772 James Selby had gone with his brother from Nevern in Pembrokeshire to Wavendon, and no one could then find out his family, nor to whom he belonged. An advertisement accordingly was inserted in the *St. James's Chronicle*, and a copy of the advertisement then being shewn to Thomas Selby, the testator's heir, he was given a document relating to the estates—a certain old Latin deed, written on a skin of parchment or vellum, duly executed by James Selby, senior, and his wife, with the intent and purpose of securing the inheritance of the estate to the heirs of their bodies, and, in case of failure of lawful issue, then to the heirs of James Selby, senior, as represented by his half-brother, Walter Selby, son of Thomas Selby of Nevern, by Anne, his second wife. The deed was kept in the family until after the testator died, when Thomas Selby, being a farmer, and not understanding the Latin document, took it to Sir Watkin Lewes, a barrister, then at Cardigan, who advised him that by the deed he could prove his title to the estates. The deed was said to have been fraudulently obtained from Sir Watkin, in 1776, by William Lowndes, and after several attempts to get it back, a suit to recover it was filed in the Court of Exchequer, but eventually the proceedings were abandoned. It was argued on behalf of the defendant that Mr. Lowndes had an absolute answer to the claim under the Statute of Limitations, and that, even assuming that there had been fraud, the statement of claim showed clearly that the action was statute-barred. Lord Justice Smith, in giving judgment, said that if ever there was a case in which the defendant was entitled to rely on the Statute of Limitations this was one.



After the defendant's family had been in possession of the estates for one hundred and sixteen years the plaintiff set up what was called concealed fraud. The plaintiff set out in his pleadings that in 1776 Thomas Selby, who was his predecessor in title, knew of the deed which set out his title to the estates, but that the deed had been handed by Thomas Selby to his counsel, Sir Watkin Lewes, who kept it in his possession ; that Thomas Selby brought an action against Sir Watkin Lewes to recover possession of the deed, and that he did not succeed through the reluctance of counsel to proceed against Sir Watkin Lewes. He (the Lord Justice) was unable to believe that statement. In his opinion plaintiff's predecessors could have obtained possession of the deed in question at the time, and have proved their title to the estates had they been able. Therefore he held that the Statute of Limitations was a complete answer to the action.

Such was the end of the trial, and it will now be interesting to review the evidence adduced by the different claimants. It will be observed that with the exception of Elizabeth Davies all the Pembrokeshire claimants, including the last, based their cases on the alleged old Latin settlement. That there was such a document can scarcely be doubted, but whether it would have been a valuable factor in the case is another question ; indeed, if Duffield's account be true, Sir Watkin Lewes, in his answer, admitted the existence of a deed, but denied that he ever pretended that he could recover the estate for any of the parties by virtue of it. Against this we have the affidavits of Jane Richards, corroborated by that of Thomas Williams, that Sir Watkin stated that he could by means of the deed put her in possession of the estate, and Williams makes the further significant assertion that Sir Watkin warned Jane Richards not to enter into any

agreement with any person concerning the estate. Three persons testify to the fact that Sir Watkin admitted that the deed contained the name of Margaret Wells, and that it belonged to the Selbys, and, allowing for Celtic imagination and embroidery, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that the deed related in some way to the Selby family in Buckinghamshire, and that Sir Watkin's assertions in the answer were of an evasive character; indeed, his statement that the words in the deed were so much obscured by abbreviations and other peculiarities that it was impossible for him to decipher the same, or to understand the effect and meaning of the deed, sounds remarkably shallow to be made by a lawyer at a time when titles were not on a twelve years' basis, and when in the course of investigations into titles, Latin deeds must have been frequently met. Even if he was unable to read the deed, he might easily have placed the document in the hands of an expert. Yet, so far as can be gathered from Duffield's account, he made no attempt to obtain outside assistance.

Curiosity will naturally arise as to how the existence of the deed was discovered. According to Duffield, the deed was found as a result of information given by Henry Pugh, who, it will be remembered, was said to have been in Buckinghamshire. This was the person whom Sir Watkin reprimanded for having imposed on the credulity of so many ignorant persons, because Pugh's answers to Sir Watkin did not tally as to dates and other facts with previous accounts said to have been made by him. This, as Duffield points out, is scarcely surprising, as Pugh was then over one hundred years old, and his faculties were much impaired.

There is one fact which will appeal to genealogists, and this is that the name of Selby in the latter part of the

seventeenth century seems to have been somewhat uncommon in Pembrokeshire. In the list of those liable for the Hearth Tax in that county, in 1670—a list which includes the householders and paupers—I have been able to find only two of the name—"Thomas Shelby," who was assessed for one hearth in Nevern parish, and "Edward Shelby," a pauper in Llawhaden parish. The former was no doubt the Thomas Selby who, according to the pedigree in the case of *Davies v. Lowndes*, came as a stranger to Nevern, married Mary Lloyd, and died in 1684. The date of his arrival in Pembrokeshire, assuming the story to be true, cannot be ascertained, but it is evident that he was in Nevern in 1661, as in the voluntary subscription to Charles II, levied in that year, the name of "Thomas Selvey" appears as a donor of one shilling, the smallest amount given by any resident in the parish.

In confirmation of the alleged connection between the Pembrokeshire and Buckinghamshire Selbys, we have the mysterious Latin deed found among the papers of the grandson of Thomas Selby's brother-in-law, in North Pembrokeshire—a document which, if the witnesses can be believed, contained the names of the Selbys and Margaret Wells. In addition, Duffield states that when in Wales in 1777, a certain Lewis James informed him that for some time previously he had in his custody a letter signed by Thomas Selby, which he believed was a letter sent by James Selby of Wavendon to his father, Thomas Selby of Nevern, but that he could not recollect its date or its contents, and that he delivered the letter to Mr. Lloyd, an attorney in Carmarthen. Duffield adds that "on mentioning this to a certain noble lord, his lordship declared that the said Lewis James had told him exactly the same thing."

So far as can be judged from Duffield's pamphlet, neither the author nor the claimants at that time had any very clear idea as to the connection between the Selbys of Nevern and those of Buckinghamshire. One of the allegations made was that Thomas James Selby had been staying at Trevigin and afterwards went to Buckinghamshire, but there is no proof that he ever was in Wales. Legal evidence up to this date was conspicuous by its absence, but when we get to the last hearing of the action brought by Mrs. Davies something more tangible is brought forward. In the first place we get proof, in the shape of Judith Odell's will, that there was a James Selby of Monington, whose existence was previously more or less nebulous, and that he was related to the Rev. Henry Lloyd of Soulberry. This is very suggestive in view of the fact that Thomas Selby is said to have married Mary Lloyd, and one wonders whether further search was made to ascertain if there were any relationship between Henry Lloyd and James Lloyd, the brother-in-law of Thomas Selby of Nevern. Were this proved to be the case, or if it could be shown that this James Selby was the son of Thomas Selby of Nevern, a long step would be made towards connecting the Pembrokeshire Selbys with Buckinghamshire. It would be quite natural to suppose that Henry Lloyd obtained a living in that county, and that through his influence his relative James Selby settled in that neighbourhood. It will be seen that James Selby of Wavendon was admitted into the Inner Temple in 1647, and assuming that the two James Selbys are identical, it is possible that George Lloyd's bequest, which came into force in 1643, may have enabled him to enter the Temple. The will of Henry Lloyd shows that his connection with Wales was continued till close on his death, in 1646, and the statement contained in it that he

had left certain effects there in the hands of friends recalls the story of the old Latin deed.

We now come to the will of James Lloyd of Monington, which, if genuine, would be conclusive proof of the connection. Here we have the usual difference of opinion between experts. It is impossible to form an opinion on the evidence published in a report, but one cannot help feeling that some of the grounds on which the experts appear to have based their belief as to the unreliability of the will are rather weak. The suggestion was that the real will had been abstracted, and a facsimile made, with the addition of a clause containing the bequest to James Selby of Wavendon. Generally speaking the experts gave as their reason for believing that the will was not genuine the character of the writing and the omission of marks of abbreviation. This, presumably, applied to the whole of the document—though this is not clear from the report—yet one of these experts suggested that the alleged copyist had succeeded in imitating the writing in the will with tolerable accuracy with the exception of the clause in question, when he relapsed into his usual style. This expert also made a great point of the fact that the half sheets on which the inventory and the will were written never formed one sheet, the foundation for this view being the absence of a watermark. This inventory was, of course, the valuation of the deceased's effects for probate purposes, and my researches in the Carmarthen Probate Court convince me that such documents are frequently written on different paper to the will. The value of the opinion of the experts on this point, however, is indicated by the fact that other wills of the same date, from the same Registry, and produced at the trial, contained most of the alleged defects which the experts for the defendants considered as evidence of

forgery, and the paper on which some of these wills were written also had no water-mark.

Curiously enough the experts appear to have overlooked a much more striking feature in the will, which covers two sides of a sheet of foolscap, and that is the wording of the bequest to James Selby. A reference to the illustrations, which are from photographs of the original document, will show that the bequest reads: "the sum of fortie pounds of current English money," while the other two bequests of money read "eight score pounds being four score pounds a year to each". Now one would expect that the same verbiage would have been used throughout, that is to say, that the first bequest would have read, "two score pounds" instead of "fortie pounds." Then the coinage is specifically mentioned in the one case and omitted in the other. At the same time too much stress cannot be laid on these discrepancies, as they are by no means uncommon in wills and even in other documents. Another feature to which exception might be taken is that the writing of the bequest to James Selby is slightly larger, and the words not so closely written as the rest of the document; but on the other hand it must be remembered that it is by no means exceptional when engrossing a will to leave a space for the insertion of a bequest as to which the testator has not made up his mind, or possibly has not at the time the necessary description of the legatee. So long as the blank was filled in before the document was executed it would not invalidate the will.

Assuming, however, that the will was a forgery—although a decision on this point seems to have been evaded at the trial—let us consider how it could have been done. Lax as the supervision may have been in those days, only two feasible methods appear to have been open. Either a clerk in the Registry must have been induced to

do the deed, or else the true will must have been abstracted, and a copy, with the additional clause, substituted. In the first case the inducement must have been very strong, and in view of the financial position of the plaintiff it is difficult to see how a substantial *douceur* could have been forthcoming, and it is scarcely credible that a clerk would have risked a good position on the chance of a bonus if the claim to the property succeeded. The other alternative must have been still more difficult to carry out; in fact, the obstacles in the way must have been insuperable without the connivance of one of the officials, and this, as I have pointed out, is, under the circumstances, incredible.

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## Reviews, and Short Notices.

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CELTIC RELIGION IN CHRISTIAN TIMES, by Edward Anwyl, M.A. London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1906.

THE problems which confront the student of Celtic religion differ from those involved in the consideration of Vedic, Hellenic and Teutonic religion. In the latter cases there is substantial agreement amongst investigators respecting the nature and validity of the evidence itself, though opinions vary concerning the inferences that may legitimately be drawn therefrom. Moreover in these three cases the body of evidence upon which one's conception of the religious system in question must be based, is substantially homogeneous. True, among the Teutons our knowledge of one side of the religion—the highly organised mythology of the North—is drawn from a stratum of facts differing chronologically, geographically, and in cultural development from our other sources of information. But even here the chasm is by no means as wide and as deep as that which separates the two extant bodies of evidence for Celtic belief and practice: the meagre and fragmentary indications of Greek and Roman writers supported by the sparse remains of monumental art and the scattered testimony of inscriptions, in the first place; in the second, Irish and Welsh myth, saga, and legend, supported by the living folk-lore of the Celtic speaking people.

Methodologically, the investigator's first task is to define the relation between those two bodies of evidence. But this cannot be done until the nature of the second



has been ascertained and its development traced. At present no one hypothesis commands general acceptance among scholars, nay, there is uncertainty respecting the very conditions of the problems to be solved. Is or is not certain literature preserved by the Irish Gaels a survival from pre-Christian times, and, if so, in how far does it faithfully mirror the beliefs and practices of pre-Christianity, or has it been affected by the consciousness of the Christian-Classic culture in which it is found embedded? In what relation does the apparently mythic portion of this literature stand to the obviously heroic? Does community of themes, incidents and *dramatis personæ* in the romantic literature of Irish and Welsh imply original pan-Celtic unity, or is it the result of relations which obtained between the Celtic peoples in historical times, and therefore unsusceptible of being used as evidence respecting pre-historic Celtic conditions?

Such are some of the questions an answer to which must precede any general survey of Celtic religion. No answer in our present state of knowledge can pretend to finality, because the preliminary task of sifting the sources and placing them in their historical and cultural scheme of development has not been accomplished, indeed is only beginning to be essayed. Thus the expert can provide no such harmonious and orderly exposition of definitely ascertained knowledge as shall be accessible and attractive to the non-expert. For some time to come his task is far other. He must forward the criticism of sources and, by framing hypotheses the fragility of which must always be present to his mind, essay to bring facts into relation with each other, and thereby contribute to the true elucidation of their import and significance. He cannot *popularise* in the ordinary sense of the word, supply, that is, the layman with the assured results of

research and relieve him from the necessity of reaching them by personal effort; he can only describe the facts as accurately as possible, and set forth clearly the implications contained in any view of their mutual relations; he must thus insist upon modes and details of investigation which the populariser in other branches of study can neglect.

The adequate fulfilment of such a task as is sketched above would be of the utmost service to the cause of Celtic studies, and when I saw the announcement of Professor Anwyl's volume my hopes ran high. He has so many of the requisite qualifications—thorough training in the methods of historical and philological criticism; first-hand familiarity with one set of sources, the Welsh; adequate knowledge of the Irish and classical sources; lastly, an acute and critically constructive intelligence, as evidenced in his study of the *Four Branches*. Great, then, was my disappointment at finding that he had restricted himself to the easiest and least fruitful of the two bodies of evidence for Celtic religion—the Classical sources. For not only is he one of the very small number of scholars able to deal adequately with the Post-Classical evidence; not only has criticism extracted well-nigh all it can from the Classical sources; by his present procedure he countenances what I believe to be an essentially wrong method of study. Classical evidence alone can yield us no satisfactory image of Celtic religion; it needs must be interpreted in the light of the later sources. To make it the starting-point is to handicap, possibly to misdirect, investigation from the outset. Our real need is exhaustive collection and thorough criticism of the Post-Classical evidence; when that is done, but only then, can we fix the scanty remnants of the Classical mosaic into their place. Critical scholarship must work backwards from that which we can

know, instead of working forward from what must be always more or less the subject of surmise only.

Professor Anwyl's accomplishment of his task is in the main excellent. His exposition is based upon a wide survey of the factors involved, is marked by independence, judgment, and acute reasoning, and is presented with grace and, as a rule, with lucidity. But he is, in my opinion, handicapped by the wrong method of dealing with the subject which he has chosen. The insufficiency of the Classical evidence alone has led him to appeal largely to the science of pre-historic archaeology. I venture to think that for many years to come the assertions of this science can only be accepted when they are rendered probable by the precedent analysis of historic facts. In the present case Professor Anwyl urges that "many of the characteristic features of Celtic religion have been evolved during the Stone age". This is extremely likely. But he further argues, if I understand him rightly, that these features were taken over by the Celts from the peoples they subjugated. His words are: "Their [the Celts] quota of contributions to the conceptions of life and of the world appears to be small compared with that of their predecessors" (p. 5). This is pure hypothesis, for which no evidence can be adduced, and which seems to involve the assumption that the Celts themselves had not passed through a Stone age culture, and therefore such traces of that culture as survive in their religion must be loans. I believe that the majority of philologists are sceptical concerning the traces of pre-Aryan influences which Principal Rhys and Professor J. Morris Jones detect in Celtic speech. As a student of mythology, I make bold to affirm that we have at present no criterion for discriminating Aryan and pre-Aryan elements in the religion of the various Aryan peoples. It is little enough we can

ever know about the early Aryan, but we do possess a body of facts the analysis of which is capable of revealing something assured; concerning the pre-Aryan, we shall in all likelihood never be able to do more than to put forth more or less plausible conjectures.

Professor Anwyl argues (p. 23) that because we find in the Celtic speech area "names of groups of goddesses such as the Matres", and because they (the Celts) had "in historic times advanced well beyond this stage to that of named and individualised gods", therefore "in the Neolithic stage" the inhabitants of Celtic countries had attained to certain religious ideas (of the animation of the world by invisible spirits). This would seem to imply continuity of population and development from the Neolithic period onward throughout the special area in question, an implication which stands in direct contradiction with the theory, previously urged, of the subjugation of the Neolithic pre-Aryans by the bronze-weaponed Celts.

Whilst Professor Anwyl gives a good deal of space to speculation about the pre-Celts, he has not examined as thoroughly as I should have expected what the Classical writers have to say about the Celts. He notes the prominence of "war in Celtic tribal life", and the fact "that the large number of names identified with Mars reflects the prominent place at one time given to war in the ideas that affected the growth of the religion of the Celtic tribes", but he does not refer to the puzzling statement of Cæsar, "*Deum Mercurium maxime colunt*," which is borne out neither by the epigraphic evidence (nineteen Celtic avatars of Mercury as against fifty-nine of Mars), nor by anything in the Post-Classical literature of the Celts. He also notes that "in historic times at any rate Jupiter did not play a large part in Celtic religious ideas". Here we have examples of the danger of relying solely on Classical evidence; in

the case of Mercury this is inconsistent, in the case of Jupiter it is in contradiction with inferences that may legitimately be drawn from Irish and Welsh mythic literature, as Mr. A. B. Cook has so well shown in his admirable articles on the European Sky-God (*Folk-Lore*, 1906, Nos. 1, 2).

I do not think that Professor Anwyl has dealt searchingly enough with the question of human sacrifice. If the Classical evidence alone is relied upon, I hold that it cannot be considered apart from certain statements of Cæsar respecting the family and social organisation (especially VI, 19), which in my opinion have never been criticised with sufficient thoroughness. But indeed the Classical and Post-Classical evidence must be taken together. I do not demur to the suggestion that what we know of human sacrifices among the Celts "indicates a combination of the ideas of tree-worship with those of early agricultural life," but as a matter of fact this suggestion is supported rather by the Irish than by the Classical evidence.

What I have said has been chiefly in the way of criticism or demur. I trust Professor Anwyl will believe me when I say that the sincerest compliment I can pay him is to treat even a popular sketch as seriously as if it were a contribution to the Transactions of the British Academy. I want to see Welsh students attack the study of their racial antiquities in a serious and scientific spirit. I believe that to do so they must start from an exhaustive analysis of medieval Welsh and Irish literature. I believe Professor Anwyl to be one of the most competent of living scholars to undertake this work himself, and to train up pupils and fellow-workers. I want him to leave pre-history alone for the present and to concentrate upon history. And in some ten years time, when there exists a Celtic counterpart

to the *Deutsche Mythologie* of Jacob Grimm I want to be able to congratulate a British and not a German author.

ALFRED NUTT.

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**CARDIGAN PRIORY IN THE OLDEN DAYS**, by Emily M. Pritchard (Olwen Powys). London: William Heinemann, 1904.

MRS. PRITCHARD was asked to read a paper on Cardigan Priory at the 1904 meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Society in Cardigan. The result of the researches she made for her paper are given in this volume. Any original research into the History of Ecclesiastical Wales is of interest, and not the least is that of the Lords Marcher who were set up as garrisons of the Latin Church in different parts of Wales. Still more interesting it is to hear how any great Marcher Lord, in fits of piety and pride, extended the borders of some of the great English foundations.

But Cardigan is of especial interest, as it has an almost unique history in showing how one great English religious house was able to despoil another. It is on this part of the story that more information is required and further original research needed, not merely the collecting of printed statements of authors who simply copy from each other. St. Peter's of Gloucester certainly held Cardigan in the reign of Henry I. In Henry II's reign the Monks of Chertsey were in possession of it. How did they get it? Mrs. Pritchard says Rhys ap Gruffydd, in 1164, took Cardigan and gave it to the Monks of Chertsey, and for this she cites as an authority a Charter of Henry VI, in which it is said that Rhys ap Gruffydd granted to St. Peter's, Chertsey, the Cell of Cardigan. It is by no means clear that Mrs. Pritchard's transcript or translation of this charter is correct, but,

assuming it is, the important question remains: Why did Rhys ap Gruffydd make a grant to a Norman Benedictine House in England? He is always said to have been much more favourable to the Cistercians than to the Benedictines, and why was Chertsey selected instead of a Welsh House? Any historian of Cardigan Priory should have given some reason for this, the most interesting part of the history of Cardigan Priory, and discussed the matter in detail. The alleged transfer by a Welsh Prince of a Cell of the Abbey of Gloucester to the Abbey of Chertsey gives an unique opportunity for original research. At the time of Archbishop Baldwin, 1185, the transfer was complete, Giraldus speaks of Cardigan as a Cell to Chertsey, and henceforth there is only the usual story of the Cell of a large English House till the Reformation, and after the Reformation the successive steps in the title of the Priory as it passed from one owner to another.

That the subject is far from exhausted is shewn by Mrs. Pritchard's supplementary chapter, in which she gives four documents from the Gloucester Cathedral Library; one a letter by Roger de Clare, which is said to be between 1147 and 1157, to Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury in somewhat peremptory terms, complaining of the deception the monks of Chertsey had practised on him as to the Church of Holy Trinity, Cardigan, which he found belonged to the Abbey of Gloucester, and which he required the Archbishop to let the Gloucester monks have. How, in spite of the Clares, and the Abbey of Gloucester, the Chertsey monks were able to hold their ill-gotten possession, would be a point of much interest to discover, as it may possibly bring on the scene a great historical personage, who so far does not appear to have had much to do with Wales. Chertsey was in the Diocese of Winchester from 1129 to 1171; the See of Winchester was then filled by one of its greatest

Bishops, Henry of Blois, and it may well be that he desired to exalt his own Benedictine Abbey over the proud Benedictine House of another Diocese. Whatever is the reason, if Mrs. Pritchard's work reaches a second edition, it is to be hoped she will work this point out thoroughly. By doing this well she will give the book a definite value in Welsh ecclesiastical history, and as she has raised the point she should follow it up.

J. W. WILLIS-BUND.

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**THE ITINERARY IN WALES OF JOHN LELAND** in or about the years 1536-1539. Extracted from his MSS. Arranged and Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. London: George Bell and Sons, 1906.

THERE are few books of more importance to the historical student than the *Itinerary* of the King's Antiquary. Leland was accurate and industrious, sometimes he had to take his information second-hand, and sometimes he made mistakes. Some of the few existing Welsh county histories have extracts from the *Itinerary* relating to those counties, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare designed to publish it for the whole of Wales.

It was reserved for Miss Toulmin Smith to earn our gratitude by carrying out this design, and in this neat scholarly volume she has collected together the Welsh extracts which in the original are a good deal mixed up; some few have even now escaped the eye of the editor. In the Appendix are extracts from the *Collectanea*, and we should have been glad of more. There is a map showing the places named in the *Itinerary*, and a most useful index of places. Leland's list of cantreds and commotes may be compared with that published in volume ix of *Y Cymmrodor*.

Not the least valuable part of the work is the identifi-



cation of the place-names by Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans. Dr. Evans generally knows, and knows correctly, but even he now and then affords another example of the perils which environ the man who guesses at place-names.

HENRY OWEN.

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**THE COUNCIL IN THE MARCHES OF WALES:** a Study in Local Government during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By Caroline A. J. Skeel, D.Lit., F.R.Hist.S. Girton College Studies II. London: Hugh Rees, Ltd., 1904.

It is a striking coincidence that the history of the Council in the Marches of Wales should have been selected as the subject of two essays for the high academic order of the doctorate, the one of Civil Law at Oxford, the other of Literature at London, within a few years of each other. It is but six years ago since our esteemed fellow-member, Mr. Henry Owen of Poyston, was accorded his D.C.L. for his admirable essay upon "The Administration of English Law in Wales and the Marches", and now we have the publication of the book under review. It would probably be useless, as it would certainly be unprofitable, to speculate upon the reasons and circumstances which led to the selection of this particular subject by Dr. Henry Owen and Dr. Caroline Skeel; but there can at any rate be no doubt that Miss Skeel had by far the harder task, and all because Mr. Henry Owen had forgotten to give *place à la dame*. To Miss Skeel it was the case which so often confronts us all—the ancients are found to have had such a knack of stealing our best thoughts. We hasten to explain, lest we should draw down the objurgations of our respected fellow-member, that the term "ancient" is applied to Dr. Owen only in a Pickwickian sense. Well, Miss Skeel having found her-

self forestalled in the choice of a subject, determined upon going one better over Dr. Owen in the size of her canvas. The latter won his honours by a dissertation that covers only thirty-two pages of print, whereas Miss Skeel's book runs to almost ten times that length. In thus saying, we have at once indicated the feature which gives her work its chief value. So far as conclusions are concerned, it must be admitted that Miss Skeel's additional labours do not lead us to modify or to alter the point of view to which Dr. Henry Owen had already brought us. Perhaps the exact status of the two books, and their difference from each other, may be best indicated by the statement that, to our mind, Dr. Owen's book contains too much law in proportion to history, and Miss Skeel's too much history in proportion to law. The combination provides an admirable result, and we would accordingly strongly recommend those who possess the first to add to it the second. We are especially glad to find that Miss Skeel has not only obtained access to, but has extracted and printed the most valuable of the documents now in the custody of the Bridgwater Trust Board as successors to the earl of Bridgwater, the Lord President of the Council in 1631, which were reported upon in the Historical MSS. Commissioners' eleventh report. This material, supplemented by other documents in private or municipal archives, she has used with great skill and discrimination, with the result that we have for the first time—for in actual details of the working of the court of the Marches, Dr. Henry Owen's essay was certainly deficient—a clear and connected account of the business of the court for certain periods of its existence. The remaining important source of information upon the Council and its court is the British Museum, the documents wherein Miss Skeel has made much use of. There

still remains, however, enough material amongst the Museum manuscript collections that Miss Skeel has either not become acquainted with or has passed without using, to furnish scope for another doctoral essay from an ambitious student. In the "list of authorities" which Miss Skeel has prefixed to her work, she specifies a large number of documents in the Cottonian and Lansdowne collections, the aid towards their discovery rendered by the Cymmrodorion Society's *Catalogue of the MSS. in the British Museum relating to Wales* (the first part of which is mainly taken up with these collections), being duly acknowledged. Of the immense Harleian collection Miss Skeel mentions but five manuscripts as contributing items upon the history of the Council. This is most unfortunate; and it is much to be regretted that Miss Skeel was not aware of the publication of Part ii of the Society's *Catalogue*, where no less than thirty volumes in the Harleian collection are shown to be wholly or in part made up of material *pour servir*, some of it of at least as great importance to the historian as any that has hitherto been utilised. Indeed, the current belief that the records of the court have altogether perished is by no means correct. The late Mr. Thomas Ellis, whilst a Lord of the Treasury, took considerable interest in the matter, but had his ardour damped by a pessimistic communication from the present Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Yet all the time an immense volume, comprising part of the proceedings of the court, was lying in the British Museum apparently unknown and certainly unexamined. *Harleian* 4220 is a record of the fines levied by the court from 14 Jas. I, to 13 Chas. I—from 1617 to 1638—a period of great importance in its history. The information afforded by this volume is extremely valuable, not only upon the character of the business transacted, but upon the social

condition of the Principality in that time of stress and strain. We give two extracts as examples :—

Fo. 163. Ludlow, 6 Dec. 1624. Thomas Vaughan of Penbrin,<sup>1</sup> in the county of Cardigan, bailiffe of the hundred of Tredrier [Troed yr aur] in the said county for this year 1624, for unlawfull exaction and comortha under colour of his office; committed at the suit of Morgan Jones; fined £13 6s. 8d.

Fo. 301b. March 1632. Glamorgan: Anthonie Turberville of Sker, gent., for ministring an othe upon a popishe Booke for swering of Mathewe Turberville gent., upon his answers by vertue of a Comission out of this Courte to him and Richard Loughor gent., and others directed at the suite of Watkin Loughor gent., and for giving the lie to the said Richard Loughor at the execution of the said Comission; fined £6 13s. 4d.

We feel sure that no one will more regret the missing of this valuable authority than Miss Skeel.

A very interesting portion of Miss Skeel's work is the chapter dealing with "The meeting-places of the Council: Ludlow, Bewdley, Shrewsbury, Hereford and Bridgnorth." Owing to her slighter acquaintance with the Harleian papers than with other British Museum collections, she has missed the following interesting note from *Harleian* 6994, fo. 203. In a letter from the President of the Council (Lord Pembroke) to Burghley, after complaining of the heavy charges of the position, is the observation, "Her Majesty's woods about Ludlowe are soe decayed that iff the Counsaill lie there fewe winters more they will not serve the howse for necessary fewell, much lesse yield the wonted commoditie to her highness." While we most heartily congratulate Miss Skeel upon her work, we are also disposed to be thankful that a good chance of distinction is still left for another worker.

EDWARD OWEN.

<sup>1</sup> Is this an ancestor of the second wife of the celebrated Lewis Morris of Penbryn?

**THE DESCRIPTION OF PENBROKESHIRE**, by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes. Edited, with Notes and Appendix, by Henry Owen, D.C.L.Oxon., F.S.A., author of "Gerald the Welshman", "Old Pembroke Families". Part III. London, 1906.

WE cordially welcome the appearance of Part iii of Owen's Pembrokeshire [the No. I of the Cymmrodorion Record Series], in which Dr. Henry Owen places before us a further selection from the writings of George Owen of Henllys, including "The Dialogue of the Government of Wales"; "Cruell Lawes against Welshmen: the Effect of the Cruell and Vnnatural Lawes, made by Henry the ffourth against Welshmen Abreuiated"; "A Treatise of Lordshipps Marchers in Wales", and a portion of "The Description of Wales".

"The Dialogue of the Government of Wales", as published here, is the third of four tracts contained in the folio volume numbered *Harleian MS.* 141 in the British Museum, which dates from the end of the reign of Elizabeth. The text has been collated with another copy in the author's autograph, now preserved at the Cardiff Free Library and forming, with the addition of the Table of "Cruell Lawes against Welshmen", a small quarto volume designated *Phillipps MS.* 21,769. All the most important variations in the two texts are mentioned in the footnotes, and those portions of the Dialogue which are found in the *Phillipps MS.* only are inserted, while those passages which occur in the British Museum text only are duly indicated. Apart altogether from its value and its importance as a description of the proceedings of the various Courts of Justice in Wales some three hundred years ago, the treatise is interesting as an early instance of the use in England of the Socratic method which had

found favour here through the popularity of the famous *Colloquia* of Erasmus.

The "Cruell Lawes" tract is to be found only in the *Phillipps MS.* The Laws themselves were probably the result of the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr, who was in arms against Henry IV during the whole of his reign. George Owen, as a Welsh patriot, approved of the action of Glyndwr, although as a Welsh antiquary, as the Editor observes, he must have lamented the havoc caused directly and indirectly by his rebellion. George Owen's views of Henry's attitude towards the Welsh people may be gathered from the note with which he concludes his Abbreviation, viz. :—

By this it may be seene, that those Cruell Lawes of *Henrie the ffourth* proceeded of mallice against the whole Nation, for hee made no such Lawes against the rest of his Subiects of *Fraunce who Revolted and Rebelled againste him* neither did he ever attempte to Establishe any Lawe for the good and quiette governemente of *Wales* or for the Abolisheinge any Crvell (cruelty) or inconvenience which he founde Greevouse But all his Lawes weare generall Scourges and ponishementes against the whole People of the Contry of *Wales* beinge then his Subiectes, and his Sonne *Prince of Wales* Wee in Englande to this Day haue not made the like against the Spaniards or any other *Capital Enemies to this Realme.*

The "Treatise of Lordshipps Marchers in Wales" shewinge How, whie, and when, they were first erected: and How, whie, and when, they were suppressed: And how they may best be Knowne, and tryed at this daye, from other Lordshipps that weare not Lordshipps marchers", of which several versions have appeared, all more or less incorrect, is now for the first time published from the original manuscript. Dr. Henry Owen had for some time been of opinion that the treatise was written by George Owen; it was therefore a peculiar pleasure to

him to find the original manuscript in George Owen's autograph at Llanstephan among the *Phillipps MSS.* now in the possession of Sir John Williams, Bart. Dr. Owen, in referring to this discovery, takes the opportunity of acknowledging the invaluable assistance he has derived from "that patriotic Welshman's collection of books and MSS. so freely placed at his disposal", an acknowledgment which the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and the people of Wales generally will most cordially endorse.

This Treatise, with the illuminating footnotes contributed by the Editor and the additional notes on various incidental matters supplied by Mr. Egerton Phillimore, forms a contribution of inestimable value towards the elucidation of many of our most puzzling topographical and historical problems. The incorporation of the result of Mr. Phillimore's researches into the dark places of Welsh History is by no means the least important service which Dr. Owen has rendered to Wales by his publication of "Owen's Pembrokeshire".

The treatise of "The Description of Wales" purports to contain "the number of the Hundreds Castells Parish Churches and ffayres, together with the Names of all chieffe Lordshippes, Markett townes Fforastes and greate woodes Deare parkes, Portes, Havons, chief Mountaynes and hills, Notable Rivers, Monasteries, Priories, Ffriers, and Noneries in all the Shieres of Wales", as well as a considerable number of interesting items "first collected by George Owen of Henllys in Pembrokeshire" in the year 1602. It is copied from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (*Gough MSS.*, Wales No. 3). At the foot of the title page of the MS. is the name of Robert Holland, who held the living of Prendergast, Walwyn's Castle, and Robeston West in Pembrokeshire, and of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, and whose eulogy of George Owen, which

he describes as "An epitaphe upon the Death of the thrice-worthy and fore-named George Owens, Esquior, Decessed, the xxvjth day of August 1614; A frinde's last farewell in token of his love," is reproduced in facsimile by Dr. Henry Owen at the beginning of the present volume. It was found in a Shirburn Castle MS. now in Sir John Williams' Library at Llanstephan. Only a portion of the Description,—that which deals with the Shires of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, and Pembroke—finds a place in this Part. We note with great satisfaction that Dr. Owen hopes to produce a further Part which will include the remainder of *The Description of Wales*, the *Fragments of Wales*, *The Treatise on Marle*, and an Index, and so conclude the work on which he has bestowed years of incessant labour.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

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**THE LAYS OF THE ROUND TABLE**, by Ernest Rhys.  
London: J. M. Dent and Co., 1905.

MR. RHYS's latest book of suggestive and dainty "Lays" will be read by Welshmen with delight and impatience. It would be idle to dwell on the fine qualities of Mr. Rhys's work, its haunting melody, its mystical atmosphere, its verbal charm. Now and again the reader is carried away by the delicate fancy, sometimes by the vividness of the narrative. Who has ever expressed so simply and so directly the vague thoughts which fill the mind even of the least imaginative when gazing on a ruined castle in the white moonlight?

"Only this mist and white half moon  
That fill the harvest fields again  
With sheaves like men,  
Can give them now, as night draws on,  
A homeless resurrection.



“ I was their House of Majesty :  
They were my children—guest and host :  
And they are dust :  
Look out, my stones that last, and see  
Where in the mist their souls may be ? ”

Some of the “Lays” will be familiar to those who were privileged to see “Guenevere” on the stage. The best lyric in the play—and in this book—is “The Song of Dinadan”, which is admirably characteristic of Mr. Rhys at his best. But Mr. Rhys betrays new qualities in his “Lays” which have hitherto been absent from his work. There is a directness, a dramatic force, in “The Battle of the Two Knights” and the “Lay of Surluse”, which come as a surprise to the reader. They make him somewhat impatient of the mere verbal prettiness of some of the other “Lays”. For, after all, Mr. Rhys has his duty to perform to Wales as well as to himself. We have no doubt that, as a matter of personal choice, he would like to go on illustrating what the neo-Celtic school love to call the “Celtic mysticism”, the Celtic “melancholy”, the Celtic “weirdness” and “natural magic”. But Mr. Rhys is made for better things, and he can do greater things for Wales. We want not a “Celtic” but a Welsh poet; not a Welsh Yeats, but an English Ceiriog, or Goronwy. We are still waiting for a poet who shall see and feel the pathos and the romance of Wales, to tell the world the story of Griffith ap Rhys and his Gwenllïan, the exploits of Llewelyn the Great, and the immortal glory of Llewelyn the Last, the bravest, the most gallant, the most tragic, and the most loveable figure in all our story. It is not only because we admire Mr. Rhys’s work, but because we think he has it in him to do still greater things in the future, that we venture to give him this friendly advice. Let him leave Arthur and the Round Table severely alone. The theme has been so “Malorised”, if we may coin the

word, that it has ceased to be distinctively Welsh. But Welsh legends and traditions are inexhaustible, and lasting fame awaits the man who can worthily sing them.

W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS.

**CYNFEIRDD LLEYN: 1500-1800: sef Casgliad o Ganiadau, Cynnulledig gyda Nodiadau Eglurhaol, gan J. Jones (Myrddin Fardd). Pwllheli: Richard Jones, 1905.**

Nis gall caredigion Llên a Barddas lai na bod yn ddiolchgar i Myrddin Fard am y casgliad dyddorol hwn o waith Cynfeirdd Lleyn. O ran gwaith yn gystal ag o ran esiamp, teilynga Mr. Jones mewn modd arbenig gymeradwyaeth Cymdeithas sydd yn anad dim yn “caru yr encilion”. I lwyddiant ei ddiwydrwydd a’i ddyfalbarhad yn ei faith ymchwil am drysorau cuddiedig ein hanes a’n llenyddiaeth, yr ydym ni sydd yn caru ein gwlad, ei hiaith, a’i defon, yn ddyledus am lawer o wybodaeth a allasai yn hawdd, heb ei ymroddiad diffino ef, lithro dros y geulan i ebargofiant. Y mae meddwl am Gymro gwledig, yn nghanol trafferthion a gorchwylion bywyd llafurus, yn ymroddi trwy’r blynyddau i loffa yn meusydd yr “oesau a fu”, yn rhwym o fod yn ysbrydiaeth ac yn gefnogaeth i bwy bynag a gâr hynafiaeth, ac a ymhyfryda yn llenyddiaeth Cymru.

Cynwysa y gyfrol hon gasgliad o ganeuon beirdd fuont yn blodeuo yn Lleyn yn ystod yr unfed, yr eilfed, a’r drydedd-ganrif-ar-bymtheg, yn eu plith William Lleyn; Huw Lleyn; Morys Dwyfach; Lewis Daron; Richard Hughes, Cefn Llanfair; Gruffydd Bodwrdda; Huw ap Risiart ap Sion; Gruffydd Williams, Pwllheli; Sion Wynn ap Huw Bodwrdda; Sion Evans, Pwll-Defaid; a Twm Pedrog. Awdlau a Chywyddau Moliant ydyw y rhan fwyaf o’u hysgrifeniadau, ac nid rhyw lawer “o

ddawn yr Awen wir" ellir ddisgwyl mewn cynrychion personol o'r fath er iddynt gynwys aml i linell bert a syniad tlws. Ond ar wahan i'r farddoniaeth sydd ynddynt, y maent yn werthfawr i ni fel dangoseg o foes a meddwl y cyfnodau yn y rhai yr ysgrifenyddwyd hwynt. Yn ychwanegol at hyny ceir ynddynt doraeth o hanes lleol a theuluol, yn gystal ag esiamplau lliosog o ddulliau iaith ac ymadrodd o ddyddordeb arbenig i garedigion y Gymraeg. Y mae nodiadau hanesyddol ac ieithyddol Myrddin Fardd yn ychwanegu llawer at werth y gyfrol. Mawr gymeradwywn ei waith i sylw pob Cymmrodor.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

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**WELSH ABBEYS:** being Short Accounts of their Abbots, Lands, Buildings and Churches, and their Values at the Dissolution. By John A. Randolph, author of "Abbeys Around London," &c. Carmarthen: W. Spurrell and Son, 1905.

"WELSH ABBEYS" is a small paper-covered quarto, containing some excellent miniature reproductions of illustrations of the ruined Monasteries and Abbeys of Wales by Samuel Buck and others, admirably printed by Messrs. Spurrell and Son, of Carmarthen. They include views of Basingwerk, Cymmer, Strata Florida, Valle Crucis and Margam Abbeys, St. Beuno's Church at Clynnog, St. Dogmael's Priory and other interesting remains. Mr. Randolph in his notes has "avoided as much as possible giving particulars that might be dispensed with; but he is far from proclaiming this book as complete or even perfect." Still it may serve as a slight introduction to a great and important subject.

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**THE WELSH PEOPLE**; Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics, by John Rhys, M.A., and David Brynmor-Jones, LL.B. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906.

THE above edition of *The Welsh People* is the fourth since the first appearance of the book in April 1900. A handsomely printed volume of nearly 700 pp., it is published at five shillings, and it includes the entire contents of the more expensive first edition, with the additions and corrections of the subsequent issues. The book is dedicated by the authors, both of whom are closely connected with the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, to the memory of the late Henry Baron Aberdare of Duffryn, and of the late Thomas Edward Ellis of Cynlas, who were also Vice-Presidents of the Society, "in recognition of the public services rendered by them to their native land." It is not necessary at this date to do more than call attention to the issue of a cheap edition of a work which has been cordially received by all who are interested in the past history and in the present condition of the Welsh People.

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# y Cymmrodor.

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1907.



THE  
**History of Charlemagne.**

A TRANSLATION OF  
“YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO,”

WITH A  
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

BY  
ROBERT WILLIAMS, B.A. (LOND.),  
*Rector of Llanbedr, Vale of Conway.*

LONDON:  
PUBLISHED BY THE HON. SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION,  
64, CHANCERY LANE.  
1907.





## EDITORIAL NOTE.

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IN the year 1883 this Society published, from the transcription of Mrs. (now Lady) Rhŷs, and under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Powel, M.A., the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno* from the *Red Book of Hergest*. It was intended to add to this publication a Translation, Notes, and Glossarial Index, but the intention, although kept in view, remained for many years unfulfilled. In 1904 the National Eisteddfod Association, at the Eisteddfod of that year, held at Rhyl, offered a substantial prize for the best translation into English of the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, with a critical introduction, and an account of the relation of the Welsh version to other Texts. The Professors of Welsh at the three constituent colleges of the University of Wales (Messrs. Thomas Powel, J. Morris Jones, and Edward Anwyl) were asked to adjudicate on the merits of the various compositions sent in for competition, and they awarded the prize to the work of the Rev. Robert Williams, B.A., Llandudno, now Rector of Llanbedr, Vale of Conway, and recommended its publication. By arrangement with the Committee of the National Eisteddfod Association, the Council of this Society undertook the

duty which had long rested upon them, and now publish the translation of the *Ystoria*, which was obtained in the manner already indicated. The Editorial Committee entrusted the entire responsibility of the production of the work to the Rev. Robert Williams, and are indebted to him for the care and attention with which, in the face of many difficulties, he carried out the work.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

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# CONTENTS.

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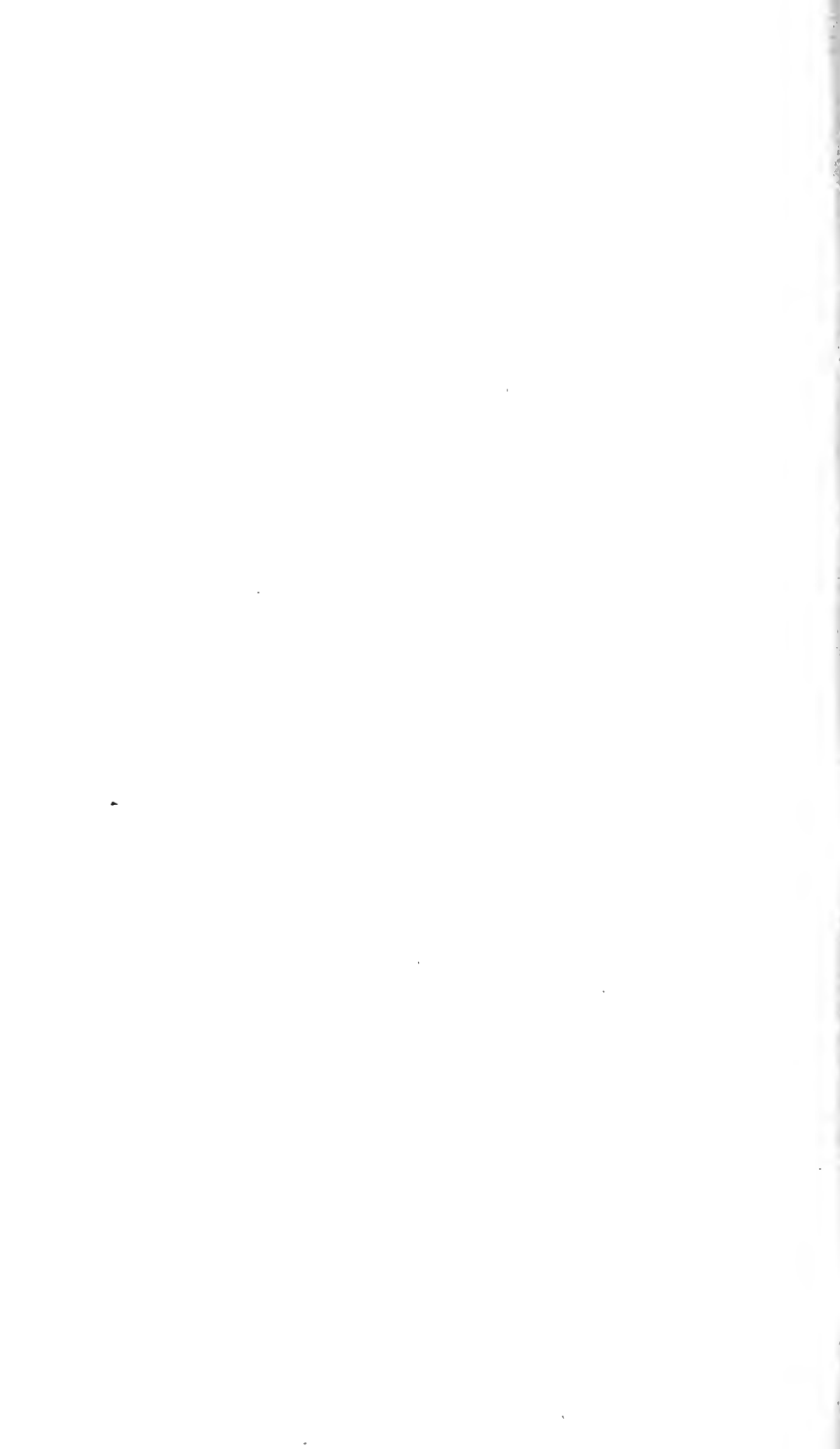
## PART I.—CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE.
THE CHARLEMAGNE OF HISTORY AND OF ROMANCE ..	1
I.—THE CHARLEMAGNE OF HISTORY .. ..	2
II.—THE CHARLEMAGNE OF ROMANCE .. ..	21
TEXTUAL CRITICISM.	
I.—THE WELSH TEXT .. .. .	31
II.—OTHER TEXTS—THE LATIN TEXT.—OLD FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF THE “CHRONICLE”.—THE FRENCH TEXTS: “ROMAN D’OTUEL” AND “CHANSON DE ROLAND”.—FRENCH COMPILATIONS.—GERMAN COMPI- LATIONS.—SCANDINAVIAN COMPILATIONS.—OLD ENG- LISH COMPILATIONS.—SPANISH AND ITALIAN COM- PILATIONS.—THE WELSH COMPILATIONS .. ..	44
III.—THE RELATION OF THE WELSH TEXT TO OTHER TEXTS	71
LIST OF AUTHORITIES, WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED .. ..	77

---

## PART II.—TRANSLATION OF “YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO”.

TURPIN’S CHRONICLE, CHAPTERS I TO XXI .. ..	83
“ROMAN D’OTUEL” .. .. .	117
A.—THE CONVERSION OF OTUEL .. ..	117
B.—THE WAR AGAINST GARSI .. ..	135
“THE SONG OF ROLAND” .. .. .	170
TURPIN’S CHRONICLE, CHAPTER XXIII TO END .. ..	199
“SUPPLEMENTA” .. .. .	209, 213
TURPIN’S CHRONICLE, CHAPTER XXII .. ..	217



# **Y Cymmrodor.**

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VOL. XX.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

1907.

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## **The History of Charlemagne.**

A TRANSLATION OF “YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO”,<sup>1</sup> WITH A HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

BY THE REV. ROBERT WILLIAMS, B.A. (LOND.),  
LLANBEDR, VALE OF CONWAY.

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### **THE CHARLEMAGNE OF HISTORY AND OF ROMANCE.**

To compress the history of Charlemagne into the narrow compass of an introduction is impossible. Such being the case, it will be necessary to omit as much as possible of the history, provided enough be retained to give the broad outlines of Charlemagne's character and achievements, and to throw some light on the events and episodes depicted in *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*.

The “History of Charlemagne” may mean the life of Charles the Great as found in the *Vita* and the *Annales*, *i.e.*, the true life-history of the King whose great achievements were the subjection of the Saxons and the consolidation of the Frankish kingdom; or it may mean the life of the great warrior-emperor, the son of Pepin, the defender of the Christian faith against the Saracens throughout Europe,<sup>2</sup> but more especially in Spain, as depicted in the songs of the French *épopée*.

<sup>1</sup> “Ystorya de Carolo Magno.” From the *Red Book of Hergest*. Edited by Thomas Powell, M.A. Printed for the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Welsh Text*, p. 28.

The *Ystoria de Carolo Magno* is concerned with the latter. It deals with the Charlemagne of Romance.

How far the romantic history reflects the true history of the great emperor is a matter of dispute.

Some maintain that the poetical history is based on real history, grows out of it, is conditioned by it, and is the glorification of it; that it reflects the impression left on the minds of the people by the character and exploits of Charlemagne. Others are of the opinion that the whole cycle of romance, both prose and metrical, though of matchless interest in the literature of the Middle Ages, adds nothing to our knowledge of the real Charlemagne.

How far this is the case may be better judged when a short sketch of the Charlemagne of history and the Charlemagne of romance is given.

### I.—THE CHARLEMAGNE OF HISTORY.

“Et usque ad novissimum diem erit nomen tuum in laude.”

Turpin's *Chronicle*, chap. i.

To the eye of the historian, the grandeur of Charlemagne is entirely confined to the position he maintains in the history of the world. In the slow transit and gradual transformation of the old world of classical antiquity into the world with which men of to-day deal, no man played a greater part than Charlemagne. He stands, as it were, at the meeting point of the ages where ancient history ends and modern history begins. The centuries of the Middle Ages before him record the decline and fall of many an old institution hoary with age and ready to vanish away; and the centuries after him, up to the Renaissance and the Reformation, record the preparation for, and the introduction of, those institutions which have been both factors and products of modern history. Charlemagne is the great

central figure of the Middle Ages, who, by arresting the drift of the corrupt and disintegrating forces then prevalent among nations rude in manners and undisciplined in mind, became the creator of Modern Europe.

When Charles ascended his father's throne, the Roman Empire had been, for more than three centuries, slowly dying. In A.D. 410, it received a death-blow when Rome was captured and sacked by the West Goths under their King Alaric. Before the long process of disintegration of the great world-empire was finished, the world was startled by the appearance of a great and warlike Semitic power which is associated with the name and faith of Mohammed. In 622, Mohammed escaped from the holy city of Mecca, where he was born in 569, and came to Medina, "the city of the prophet". In this retreat of his is seen the beginning of his career of spiritual conquest. [From the first he taught that his faith was to be forced upon all men by the sword.] So the Arabs, or Saracens as they are also called, as soon as they embraced the faith of Mohammed, held it to be their part and duty to spread their faith everywhere, which in fact meant to conquer the whole world.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere they went, they gave men the choice of three things, *Koran*, *tribute*, or *sword*; that is, they called upon all men either to believe in Mohammed and to accept the *Koran*, to submit to the rule of the Saracens and pay tribute, or to fight against them, and if conquered to be put to death by the sword. Before the death of Mohammed in 632, the career of Saracen conquest had begun. Before the end of the seventh century, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and North Africa had been conquered and made subject to the rule of the Caliph. In 711 the followers of the Prophet crossed over into Europe from Africa and conquered the whole of Spain with the excep-

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, p. 122.

tion of the mountain fastnesses of the North, where the Christians held their own. They crossed the Pyrenees and conquered a part of Gaul, *i.e.*, the province of Narbonne. They came as far as Autun, which is but one hundred and eighty miles from Paris. However, this was the extreme point of their conquests in Western Europe. In 732, they were defeated by Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, in the battle of Tours. Nevertheless, Narbonne was still in their power and possession when Charlemagne was born. This Saracen occupation of a part of the soil of Frank-land continued till the foreign invaders were finally driven out of Gaul by Charlemagne's father, Pepin, in 739.

In the east of Europe, the Avars, a Turanian people, continually menaced the lands of Italy and Illyria. They occupied the region between the Danube where had been the seat of the old barbaric kingdom of Attila.

The lands between the lower Rhine and the Elbe were inhabited by the barbarous and heathen Saxons. These people represented the Teutonic spirit and temper in its fiercest and most stubborn and uncompromising mood, and thus they presented, possibly, the most formidable obstacle to that re-modelling of Europe according to Charlemagne's own liking.

Charlemagne was born in the year 742, and succeeded his father Pepin as king of the Franks in 768. He was crowned emperor of the Romans in 800 and died in 814, after an eventful reign of forty-six years. His father had divided the Frankish kingdom between him and his younger brother, Carloman. But the latter died in 771, and Charlemagne was proclaimed with one accord the sole king of the Franks.<sup>1</sup>

The kingdom Charlemagne thus inherited was a very

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, cap. iii.



extensive one. For in addition to the Frankish territory extending from the Loire to the Rhine, other countries such as Burgundy and Alemania had been incorporated into it, while almost all around his empire were grouped many vassal states. Aquitaine, Brittany, Frisia, Thuringia, and Bavaria, were to a more or less degree under the sway of the king of the Franks. He was, further, the hereditary protector of the Pope against Greeks and Lombards, and the champion of the Christian faith against the Saracens on the south-west and the heathen Saxons on the north-west. In fact, when Charlemagne took up the sceptre, when it fell from his father's hand, the Franks had obtained a real supremacy over most of the Germanic people, and were rightly regarded as the bulwark of Christianity in the west. ✓

Such, briefly, was the aspect of affairs when Charlemagne found himself the controller of the destinies of Western Europe. ]

The many-sided and lofty position of a king among the Franks then imposed a corresponding complexity of duty on the new king. This Charlemagne fulfilled with an energy and success almost unexampled in the history of the world. [He maintained and extended on all hands the influence of [Christian culture,] and took the first steps towards converting the military monarchy of the Franks into an organized and highly civilized state.]

The keynote of his reign is the alliance of the temporal power with the national church in Frankland and with the universal church as represented by the Roman See. He endeavoured to expand his power to the utmost bounds consistent with stability, and within those bounds to diffuse that form of faith and culture which had been long preparing within the bosom of the Frankish church. He had an idea of one universal State, of one prodigious political

unity. He wished to form one Christian Europe in the political and social unity of the Empire, and in the spiritual unity of the Church. Reverence for Rome was still strong in the minds of men. So the Papacy was definitely planted at the head of Christianity. He would remodel Europe after the likeness of the old Roman empire. "The resurrection of the Roman empire was the favourite contemplation and dream of Charlemagne."<sup>1</sup> He would resuscitate the form, but not the spirit, of the old. What would have realized his highest aspiration would be the establishment of one vast empire, after the model of the old Roman empire, but infused with the spirit of Christianity, with the emperor of Rome as the centre of the political unity, and the bishop of Rome as the centre of the spiritual unity. The march of Christianity would then both favour and follow the expansion of his empire. His father Pepin had an idea of this kind in his mind when he cultivated the friendship of the Pope and was made patrician of Rome and patron of the Holy See. But he lacked the fiery spirit and magnetic personality which gained for Charlemagne the enthusiastic devotion of his own countrymen and even of conquered nations.

Charlemagne's first task as supreme commander of the Frankish forces was to suppress a rising in Aquitaine in 769. This duchy, after Charles Martel had saved it from the Saracens, continued, as of old, to be one of the most troublesome of the Frankish dependencies.<sup>2</sup> This suppression was carried out by Charlemagne single-handed, as his brother Carloman, whose territories were unaffected by the result, refused to lend him his aid.

In 772 Charlemagne commenced the great mission of his life—the conquest and conversion of the Saxons, a

<sup>1</sup> *Guizot*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, cap. v.

work which could only be effected after thirty-two years of the most fierce and most passionate warfare.<sup>1</sup> The Saxons were, with the doubtful exception of the Frisians, the last remnant of the old Germanic resistance to the military supremacy of the Franks, and the last Germanic champions of the religion of Odin against the onward progress of Christianity.

The encroachment of the Saxons on his eastern frontier was the occasion of his first expedition. Charlemagne invaded the land and destroyed all he met by fire and by sword. He stormed the castle of Eresburg and took it. He overthrew the idol which the Saxons called Irminsul, and destroyed the sanctuary of Odin, and compelled the Westphalian Saxons to submit.<sup>2</sup>

Pope Hadrian, oppressed by the Lombards and their king Desiderius, summoned Charlemagne to the other side of the Alps.<sup>3</sup> The Saxons, regarding the absence of the king as a most favourable occasion, renewed their old ravages. On his return, Charlemagne set out against them, and in two campaigns enforced the submission of the entire Saxon confederation.<sup>4</sup> In the great Champ-de-Mai, at Pederborn, the Frankish king, surrounded by his chiefs and by ambassadors from other nations, received the homage of the Saxon warriors (except that of Witikind), and many thousands of them were baptized on that occasion.

In 778 Charlemagne crossed the Pyrenees, and secured the submission of the country as far as the Ebro. On his return his rearguard was assailed and cut off by mountaineers in the pass of Roncesvalles, and this overthrow of the Franks became eventually one of the great themes of song and romance, of which more will be said in another

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, cap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales*, A.D. 772.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales*, A.D. 773.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, A.D. 777.

chapter. His march home from Spain was hastened by the general revolt of the Saxons, assisted this time by the Danes. Charlemagne was again easily victorious. But no sooner had he left the country than the Saxons were again up in arms. Even the massacre of four thousand five hundred prisoners who fell into the king's hands, and who were beheaded at his command, at Werden, served only to intensify the spirit of resistance.<sup>1</sup> They were again completely defeated. Even Witikind, the hero of the whole war, was compelled to submit to Charlemagne, and received baptism at Attigny. Many followed his example. But it was not till 804 that the last spark of the resistance was quenched.

The result of this war was that Charles was left the sole master of the lands which, taken together, made up mediæval Germany. By imposing upon the inhabitants of these lands a common ecclesiastical and secular administration, by subjecting them to one allegiance and one faith, he imparted to this mighty mass of people a political unity which was never to be destroyed. In this sense he is to be regarded as the creator of the German nation.<sup>2</sup>

When Charlemagne had brought the war in Aquitaine to a successful end, at the request of Hadrian, the bishop of Rome, he entered into war against the Lombards.<sup>3</sup>

In 757 Desiderius, duke of Tuscany, became the king of the Lombards. In 770 Charlemagne put away his wife, a noble Frankish lady, and, at the request of his mother, married a daughter of Desiderius. The marriage tie was soon broken.<sup>4</sup> After a year's wedlock the daughter of Desiderius was back again in her father's court a divorced and rejected wife. Naturally this did not improve the relations between Desiderius and Charlemagne.

<sup>1</sup> *Annales*, A.D. 784.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, cap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Davis*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. xviii.

In 772, Hadrian ascended the pontifical throne. The new Pope wished to follow the policy of his immediate predecessors in cultivating the friendship of the king of the Franks, and consequently he turned a deaf ear to the demands made by Desiderius that he should anoint the infant sons of Carloman as kings of the Franks. Desiderius resolved to march on Rome with all his army and compel the Pope at the point of the sword to carry out his wish. He seized some of the cities of Italy and approached the frontiers of the duchy of Rome. Hadrian still refused, and called upon Desiderius to restore the possessions which he had taken from the See of Rome. He also sent a legate to Charlemagne with an earnest request for help, reminding the king of the oath he had taken as a patrician to defend the See of Rome. Desiderius also sent ambassadors who told a different story. Charlemagne resolved to make inquiries into the case. As a result he offered to the king of the Lombards fourteen thousand golden solidi (£8,000) if he would restore the conquered cities, and so satisfy the demands made by Hadrian. This he refused to do.

Charlemagne summoned his army and set out for Italy. He renewed his offer of money payment. This offer was again refused. The time had come to appeal to the sword. The army crossed over to Lombardy, one half of them by Mont Cenis and the other half by the Great St. Bernard. Desiderius awaited their coming at Susa, which was regarded then as the key of Italy. The Lombards fled at the approach of the Franks. Soon Pavia and Verona were besieged. Charlemagne arrived in Rome on the eve of Easter Sunday. It was the first occasion on which he had seen the city of the Cæsars. To the Romans the Frankish patrician represented the old Imperial governors of Italy, whose title he had taken.<sup>1</sup> His entry

<sup>1</sup> *Davis*, p. 82.

was, therefore, celebrated with all the pomp and circumstance formerly reserved for the Cæsars. In June 774, the gates of Pavia, after having been besieged for ten months, were opened to Charlemagne, and the dominion of the Lombards in Italy came to a perpetual end.

The expedition into Spain is the theme of many a stirring song sung by the minstrels of old in all the countries of Europe. What is the true history of this episode? Why did Charlemagne enter Spain? What was his motive? Why should he interfere with and molest the Saracens since Frankland had so little to fear from them?

The biographer of Louis the Pious suggests that the king desired to help the Christians in Spain. Hadrian had impressed upon Charlemagne's mind that his peculiar mission was to fight the heathen. Legend confirms this suggestion. The romance of the pseudo Turpin tells us that Charlemagne entered Spain at the wish of St. James to deliver Galice from the power of the Saracens.<sup>1</sup> But is this historically true? In order to understand the part played by Charles at this juncture, it is necessary to glance for a moment at the condition of the Mohammedan world, and more particularly of the Moors in Spain.

For a hundred years the Ommayad Caliphs, in a long line, had governed the vast regions which owned the faith of Mohammed. The Caliph, as the successor of the Prophet, wielded a power religious as well as military. He was at once Pope and King of the Saracen world. It was in the name of the Ommayad Caliph and by his lieutenants that Spain was conquered; in his name Gaul was invaded by those swarming myriads whom Charles Martel with difficulty repulsed in the great battle of Tours. But in the year 750, eighteen years before the accession of Charle-

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Welsh Text*, p. 2.

magne, there had come a change. The unity of Islamism was broken, and the divisions that then crept in, even more than the sword of Charles Martel, saved Europe from Moslem domination. The Ommayad Caliphs, who reigned at Damascus had forgotten, in the delights and luxurious life of that city, some of the stern simplicity of their earlier predecessors. A new and more austere claimant to their religious throne presented himself in the person of Abul Abbas, who was descended from an uncle of the Prophet, and the old feud between the two tribes of the Koreish and Haschimites flared up into a fierce civil war, the reigning Ommayads belonging to the former, and the revolting Abbasides to the latter, class.

In the battle of Mosul (750) the Abbasides gained the upper hand; Merwan, the last Ommayad caliph, fled to Egypt, where he was slain, and a bloody massacre of the eighty Ommayads at a banquet, all but completed the ruin of the family. From the overthrow of a princely race, one only escaped. The young Abderrahman, son of Merwan, fled from Syria, and after many adventures and many narrow escapes, ever travelling westward, reached the tents of a tribe of Bedouins in Morocco, with whom he claimed kinship through his mother. Here he was gladly granted the asylum which he so much needed. While he was sharing their hospitality there came an embassy from some of the chief Mussulmans of Spain to offer him the supreme power in that country. The various Emirs who had been misgoverning that unhappy land for forty years since the Moorish conquest had given it neither prosperity nor peace; possibly also there was a feeling that they had failed as champions of Mohammedism against Christianity. At any rate, there was a strong desire to try what unity and concentration under a resident and independent sovereign would accomplish, and for this

purpose to take advantage of the presence of a high-spirited and courageous youth, the descendant of a long line of sovereigns. The invitation was gladly accepted. Abderrahman crossed into Spain in 755 and won victory after victory over the representatives of his Abbaside foe, the chief of whom was named Yussuf-el-Fekr, and though he himself did not assume the title of Caliph, virtually he *founded the Caliphate of Cordova*, which for nearly three hundred years, often with brilliant success, guided the fortune and destiny of Mohammedan Spain.

But Abderrahman, though deservedly one of the favourite heroes of Saracen literature, did not win supreme power in Spain without a hard struggle, and even after he had conquered, there was many a fresh outbreak of opposition to his rule. Though Yussuf-el-Fekr fell in battle (759), his sons filled the next twenty years with turmoil. And it was one of these sons and a son-in-law of Yussuf, who, together with Ibu-el-Arabi (possibly the Governor of Barcelona), sought the aid of Charlemagne in the year 777, while he was holding a meeting at Paderborn. They wished Charlemagne to proceed against Abderrahman, and they promised him that they would procure the surrender of several cities in Spain if he would appear before their gates. The offer was a tempting one, and harmonised with the king's general feeling. For Abderrahman, the Ommayad Caliph of Cordova, was the rival and enemy of the Abbaside Caliph of Bagdad, who was the friend and ally of Charlemagne, in support of whose claim to the headship of Islam a large number of Spanish Mahommedans were in arms.

It was, then, at the call of the Saracens that Charlemagne entered Spain. He was asked to intervene in support of one Islamic power against another. The




question of the rival faith does not seem to have been the determining motive for this expedition. So that there is no foundation in history for the suggestion of the *chansons* and the later chronicles, that Charlemagne was moved to this enterprise by pity for the Spanish Christians groaning under Saracen oppression. In fact the situation of the Christians under Abderrahman seems to have been fairly tolerable. The historians of Spain have not hesitated to compare Charlemagne unfavourably with Abderrahman. If we consider merely the relations of Abderrahman with his own countrymen, this opinion can hardly be maintained. For it was at the request of the subjects of this very Caliph of Cordova that Charlemagne was asked to intervene in the affairs of Spain.

In 778 the king set out for Spain with a vast army. One part of his army followed the sea coast by way of Gerunda and Barcelona, the other, under Charlemagne, took the direct road to Pampeluna. Saragossa was to be the meeting-place. Having crossed the Pyrenees, Charlemagne first of all attacked Pampeluna, which submitted to him. Other cities followed its example. But Saragossa, the city which commanded the passage of the Ebro, refused to surrender. After a desperate sortie, Charlemagne had to retire. Disappointed with the result, he resolved to return home. Returning to Pampeluna, he levelled the walls of the city with the ground, lest it should rebel against him. He then began his march across the Pyrenees, 5,000 feet high. The highest point of the road, the "Summa Pyrenees", looked down on the wild and narrow defile of Roncesvalles, the "glyn mieri" of the Welsh translation.

In passing through this narrow defile, Charlemagne had to form his army into a long line.<sup>1</sup> On the highest

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, cap. ix.

point of the pass an ambush had been formed by the Gascons, whose operations were concealed by the dense wood growing there. When the baggage train and the rearguard came in sight, they dashed down the slopes upon them. The suddenness of the attack, and the possession of the higher ground, fully compensated for the mountaineers' inferiority in arms and discipline. According to Eginhard, the whole of the rearguard were cut to pieces. Among those who fell were many nobles of the king's court, notably, Eggihard, the seneschal of the royal court, Anselm, count of the palace, Hruoland, the prefect of the Breton march (the Roland of the *chansons*).<sup>1</sup> As night soon fell and the nimble invaders dispersed quickly to their homes and hiding-places, revenge was impossible. So Charlemagne returned home to Frankland with clouded brow, all his satisfaction at his successes in Spain being marred by this dishonour to his arms, and by the loss of so many friends. The date of this disaster is fixed by the epitaph of the seneschal Eggihard as the 18th of August 778. 

Such is the bare record of his history concerning this episode, which is so famous in song. By the caprice of fortune it has become the root of a whole epic literature.

But *who were these Gascons*, and what was their quarrel with Charlemagne?

Certainly they were not Saracens or Mohammedans, as the *trouvères* of the later centuries supposed. They form a part of the mysterious Basque race, which has throughout the centuries of history occupied the high upland valleys on either side of the Western Pyrenees, and has given its name to Biscay in Spain, and Gascony in France. These mountaineers represent probably the oldest population of Europe of which any trace now

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, cap. ix.

remains. Their language is to-day the puzzle, the unsolved enigma, of philology. As has been said, they are not Mussulmans, and they may have "professed and called themselves Christians". And there is no need to seek any deep political combination, Christian or Mohammedan, to account for the attack on the baggage train of the Frankish king.

The men whose ancestors had been driven, perhaps two thousand years before, into their mountains by the Celts, were determined, and have been determined ever since, to keep their last asylum free from the foot of the invader. Roman and Goth had vainly tried to subdue them. And now this Frankish interloper should have a lesson that should prevent his paying too frequent visits to their mountains. Theirs was a savage love, not merely of independence, but of absolute isolation. That and the attraction of the plunder possible to them, seem quite sufficient to account for their attack on the baggage train of the king.

Other wars were undertaken by Charlemagne, against the Avars, and against the Bretons, in all of which the Franks were victorious, and the countries became the spoils of the Christian armies. Every campaign increased the prestige of the Frankish armies. The empire of the great monarch was enlarged against Slavish and Scandinavian heathendom, his troops maintained the Spanish march against all his Saracen and Christian enemies. From the Eider to Sicily, and from the Ébro to Theis, the will of Charlemagne was supreme.

It is no wonder that men who associated the ideas of imperial order and constructive civilization with the name of Rome should have recognised in the monarchy of Charlemagne the restoration of the powers of the Cæsars. When, therefore, at Rome, on Christmas Eve of the

year 800, he was crowned emperor of the Romans, it seemed the natural consummation of his whole career. And when, in 801, an embassy arrived with curious presents from Harun-al-Rushed, the great Caliph, who held in the East the same position as Charlemagne did in the West, men recognised in it a becoming testimony to the world-wide reputation of the Frankish emperor.

When Charlemagne ascended the throne learning in Europe was at its lowest ebb. The old Roman civilization had passed away, partly from inward decay, partly by the attacks made on the seats of learning by uncivilized nations, and partly, and still more quickly, through the supplanting power of the new idea introduced into the world by Christianity. But after a time even Christian learning had disappeared from Western Europe, though traces of it were still left in some of the cities of Italy. With that exception learning had abandoned the continent. The darkness was profound and general. Only in distant Britain and Ireland was the lamp of learning kept burning.<sup>1</sup> It was Alcuin, a scion of a noble Northumbrian house, educated in the famous school of York by teachers who had sat at the feet of the Venerable Bede, who in 782 brought the light back to the continent. The plight of learning in Frankland at his coming was deplorable.

Prompted by Alcuin, Charlemagne attempted the great work of dispelling this darkness. He began at the fountain head. He established in his own court the famous school called the Palatine school, in which his own children and those of his nobles were instructed by masters of great reputation. The king invited to his court grammarians and learned men from all parts. By

<sup>1</sup> Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.*, p. 266.

means of his own example he roused others to cultivate learning, both human and divine. He was himself the most eager of pupils, wanting to know everything, and everything at once.

The knowledge imparted in the school was rudimentary. The whole circle of knowledge was included in what were called the *Seven Liberal Arts*, viz., grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy.<sup>1</sup> This curriculum was an inheritance from classical antiquity. Isidore, Bishop of Seville (d. 636), published a small encyclopædia called *Etymologiæ*, containing extracts gathered from patristic and classical authors, and this served as a *thesaurus* of all knowledge for centuries. In this book the arts are expressly recognised as seven. "Disciplinæ, liberalium artium septem sunt."<sup>2</sup>

Nor was Charlemagne's plan restricted to the palace school. He did not intend to rule a barbaric kingdom. Therefore he applied himself earnestly to bring learning to his people. Acting under such impulses, Charlemagne issued, in 787, that famous capitulary or proclamation which is the first general charter of education. It is in the form of a letter to the abbots of the different monasteries, reproving them for their lack of learning, exhorting them not to neglect the study of letters, and calling upon them to find out men who were both able and willing to learn themselves and also willing to instruct others. The soldiers of the church should be (said he) "religious in heart, learned in discourse, pure in act, eloquent in speech".

By his authority schools were opened in connection with monasteries and cathedrals in all the provinces. Other capitularies followed, laying down more definite instructions. In 802 a proclamation was issued, calling upon

<sup>1</sup> *West*, p. 5. Vide *Welsh Text*, pp. 104, 105.

<sup>2</sup> *West*, p. 26.

fathers to send their sons to study letters.<sup>1</sup> There was a genuine renaissance, though its area was not very extensive.

The movement, however, rendered a double service to learning. It restored Latin to the position of a literary language, and it brought out a number of editions and copyists of such texts in Greek and Latin as had survived the wreck of ancient learning. Every student of the history of the old Latin and Greek texts knows how many of the best MSS. date from the ninth century. This was the result of the impulse given by Charlemagne to classical studies.<sup>2</sup> In this respect the king of the Franks takes a foremost place among the benefactors of humanity.

Charlemagne spent the last weeks of the year 813 at Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>3</sup> In January of the following year he was seized by a violent fever. Having no faith in doctors, he tried his usual remedy for fever, *i.e.*, abstaining from food. But this only made him weaker. Soon pleurisy intervened. On the seventh day, after he had received Holy Communion, he passed quietly away, in the seventy-second year of his age, the forty-seventh year of his reign, on the fifth day before the Calends of February, at nine in the morning. The same day he was buried in the church of the Virgin there amidst universal signs of grief and sorrow.

Eginhard has preserved the inscription which was placed above his tomb:—"Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli magni at que orthodoxi imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, et per annos XLVII feliciter rexit. Decessit septuagenarius Anno Domini DCCCXIII, Indictione vii. v. Kal. Febr."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *West*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, caps. xxx, xxxi.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita*, cap. xxxi.

<sup>5</sup> Note that in this inscription Charlemagne is called "the *great* and orthodox emperor", and not "*Charles the Great*". It was some-time after this that the "Magnus" became linked to the "Karolus".

Charlemagne, we are told, had a genius for civilization.<sup>1</sup> Anarchy, in any shape or form, distressed him, and his impulse was to direct his efforts to check the tendency, and to produce order. Europe, in its political, social, and spiritual aspect, was in a state of disorder when Charlemagne ascended the throne, and his first thought was how to civilize Frankland and the countries around it. This was at the root of all his warlike expeditions. This, and not a mere thirst for conquest, it was that moved him to undertake them. This spirit is also made manifest in his eagerness to establish schools, in his taste for learning, in his predilection for the Church, and in his adoption of everything which appeared to him capable of exercising beneficial influence on society as a whole, or on man in his individual capacity.

The contribution of Charlemagne to modern civilization is different from that of many who have a great name in history. It is not so solid and manifest. He was not a great builder of cities, nor a great road-maker, nor did he enrich the world of literature and of art.

Charlemagne was a great statesman with lofty ideals. He wished to establish a vast Christian empire on earth. He would make all nations subjects of one kingdom, and make the Church in deed what it is in word, "militant here on earth". This he undoubtedly failed to do. He could not resuscitate the old learning and civilization of Rome in a Christian state, nor graft the new Christian culture on the old stem of heathen Teutonic races. Neither could he gather in all the nations of Europe into one fold. A lifetime is far too short for the accomplishment of a scheme on so vast a scale. By his great genius he did indeed create a vast empire, but he could not give it stability. For soon after his death it gradually fell to

<sup>1</sup> Guizot, p. 68.

pieces. To all intents and purposes it was buried with him in his grave at Aix-la-Chapelle. Its fall was hailed with delight by the many small nations which had been brought within its pale. Only in the Papal court, and possibly among some of the king's own descendants was there any fondness for the ideal that fired his imagination and disturbed his dreams—the whole continent united politically under one emperor, and spiritually under one bishop. The grand purpose that dominated his mind was not fulfilled, and it was better for Europe that it was not. Nevertheless, the mind that could conceive such a noble thought at that period in history, and environed by the sordid ideas that then prevailed both in the church and in the world at large, reveals a man whom the succeeding centuries have rightly acclaimed as truly great. He failed to realize his ideal because it was, and is, too grand for this world. But in any case, he had the sweet consciousness of knowing—

“How far high failure overleaps the bound of low successes.”<sup>1</sup>

The ideal he entertained embraced more than one nationality. It took in all men. The catholicity of Charlemagne's character is one of its most striking features. He was a Frank only in dress.<sup>2</sup> What Turpin's romance says of Roland, according to the Welsh version, is certainly true of Charlemagne, “Karedic gantaw pob dyn. Ual pei brawt idaw uei bob cristawn.”<sup>3</sup> (“He entertained kindly feelings towards every man. As his brother regarded he every Christian.”)

Charlemagne's greatness was in the nobility of his aim, and in the energy and wisdom and tact with which he carried it out during his life. Notwithstanding the general wreck of his empire, in greatness of character, in

<sup>1</sup> “Marsyas” in *The Epic of Hades*, by Sir Lewis Morris.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, cap. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Welsh Text*, p. 100.



marvellous many-sided activity, and in magic influence of a name potent for good among succeeding generations, Charlemagne stands second to none of the great ones of the world.

## II.—THE CHARLEMAGNE OF ROMANCE.

“Vei le tu la u set à cel fluri gerain  
Celui a la grant barbe à cet veir pelican.”—*Roman d’Otuel*.

The French *trouvères* and *jongleurs* in the Middle Ages displayed an extraordinary activity, exercised an immense influence, and produced remarkable works. These works were known and admired throughout the length and breadth of Europe. The events they narrated and the heroes they celebrated were often on all men’s tongues. The great hold which these romances had on the attention of the literary world in the Middle Ages lies in the fact that quite independent of Greek and Latin antiquity, French genius drew from its own store narrative poetry in all its various forms—historical, moral, and descriptive. It was in France that the new society dared to give utterance in a form of poetry to which it had itself given birth. The origin, however, of these romances, so bright with life and so full of interest, is wrapped in obscurity. There used to be a theory that the Charlemagne romances owed their origin, more or less directly, to the Chronicle of Turpin, as the Arthurian romances are said to be based on Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Brut* or *Chronicle*. It has now been made fairly clear that the Latin Chronicle is not anterior even to some of the existing *chansons*, and some of the old songs may be traced in parts of the Chronicle, forming as it were the basis of the stories told.

The beginning of the national literature of France, as of other countries, probably was the ballads of the people. Minstrels seized upon some striking episode in the history

of the nation, and composed short stirring lays which took for granted a knowledge of the outlines of events. Cycles of ballads clustered round the names of great kings and knights. The existence of these national songs, contemporaneous with the events, is attested by many different authors.<sup>1</sup> Of Howell of Nantes it is stated “de hoc canitur in cantilena usque in hodieum diem”<sup>2</sup> (Turpin *Ch.*, Ciampi, cap. xii). Charles Martel, and Dagobert before him, were celebrated in many a song. Pepin’s exploits were not forgotten by the minstrels. In the reign of Charlemagne songs were richer and fuller than ever. The war in Spain in 778 and its disastrous end created a profound impression and inspired many poems. In short, all that was glorious in the past history of the people, every great warrior and every stirring episode in history, had already its song and its ballad.

The demand for something like order among the many songs of different kinds then in existence, produced at that early date a classification of them more or less exact. The minstrels divided them generally according as they related to France, to Brittany, or to the Ancient World, as represented by Rome. The *trouvère*, Jean Bodel of Arras, at the beginning of his *Chanson des Saisnes* (thirteenth century), makes three distinct epic cycles of them.

“Ne sont que trois matières à nul home entendant  
De France, et de Bretagne, et de Rome le grant.”

The romances “de Rome le grant” are those derived from ancient history, the chief representative of which possibly is the *Roman de Troie*, the *Dares Phrygius* of the Welsh MSS.

The second cycle, the *Matière de Bretagne*, embraces

<sup>1</sup> *Flourishing of Romance*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See also Davis’ *Charlemagne*, p. 322; *Hist. Poet.*, p. 38; *Vita*, cap. xxix.

the romances of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table.

It is the third cycle of romances, the *Matière de France*, which, being the original production of the people, forms the principal interest of French literature in the Middle Ages.

The "Matter" of France is again divided into two parts: (1) The national or kingly cycle of songs; (2) The feudal or individual cycle of songs. The first group of songs refers to the songs which celebrated the exploits of the kings from Chlodovech to Charlemagne. They were dedicated to the glorification of the kings of the Franks.

The second group of songs were by far the most numerous, and were more or less hostile to royalty. In these songs the persons and deeds of the barons were highly exalted. The sovereign rights of the king are not denied, but the king never undertakes to do anything national without consulting his barons. There was also a third group, which embraced the songs relating to the wars in Spain against the Saracens.

This national and feudal poetry developed especially among the warrior class, among the lords and knights of the court and the field and their retainers, whose ideas and sentiments and ways of living and acting it reflected. It was not meant for the artisans and peasants, but for the aristocracy. It was a "courtois" production destined exclusively for the "courtois" class, and often produced by it and for those of the people who had been initiated into this culture.

In the formation and development of these songs the wandering minstrel played an important part. - The *trouvères* had no intention of producing a permanent literature when they composed their *chansons de geste*. As the word *chanson* implies, they were meant to be sung and not

read, to please the ear and not the eye. And the word *geste* indicates that they were supposed to be songs which had for their subject some real episode in history.

The minstrels going about from place to place to recite these songs for the amusement of the great and for the entertainment of feast and wedding, brought the traditional songs of one region to another region, and in order to interest their audience they would attach to the one, heroes and episodes of the other, or draw upon their own fancy, or borrow from the common stock of their trade. Thus the popular tradition developed almost independently of literary authorities.

In this manner was formed a vast *épique matière* which had a national character—which expressed in song the ideal and the sentiment of the whole people of France, or at least, of its aristocratic and courtly classes.

The only popular history of the past, the only known annals of their country's deeds, were enshrined in the *chansons* of the minstrels. No other record was known. By the eleventh century the literary world had lost touch with the period of Charlemagne. Having lost sight of all landmarks it readily lent itself to expand mere myths and legends; even learned and sober chroniclers invented and recorded a personal visit of Charlemagne to Jerusalem. If this was done with what was regarded as history, it may be imagined what liberties were taken with the songs and ballads. In the eleventh century there came a time when the literary man took in hand the popular songs of the country and endeavoured to weave a story or poem out of them. The best story so produced is Turpin's *Chronicle*, and the best song the *Chanson de Roland*.

The word *épopée* is often used in the sense of an epic poem. It may also be used for the history or the matter which forms the subject of an epic poem. This matter

may be *imaginary*, pure invention, mythical, or it may be *historical*, *i.e.*, it may be based on real events in history more or less modified by the traditions of the people or by the imagination of the poet.

It is in this last sense that the French *épopée* must be considered, as being based, at least in its origin, on songs contemporaneous with the events.

The French *épopée* may then be defined as *poetical history* of France based on a previous or anterior national poetry, commemorating in song the great persons and events in the long past history of the country.

The *épopée* is nothing more than the poetry of a nation developed, enlarged, and centralized.<sup>1</sup> From thence it borrows its inspiration, its heroes, and even its stories, but it groups them and co-ordinates them in one grand whole in which they are arranged about a principal point. It takes isolated songs and makes of them one whole and harmonious work. It removes all discrepancies, classifies subjects, arranges episodes in proper order and sequence, binds the events in a common plan at the expense of geography and chronology, and finally constructs, with the material of a preceding age, a true building. The *épopée* is simply "French history seen through a romantic lens".

The origin of the French *épopée* must be sought then in the national songs of the Franks, the songs, not as they were originally composed, but as they had been modified by the minstrels.

When the production of national poetry is arrested because the historical aspect to which it relates has come to an end, the nation, if still vigorous, will go on singing, for some time, the epic poetry of the preceding generations. But the old songs, in order to exercise fresh influence, must

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Poet.*, p. 3.

submit to new conditions. In order to live, and lead a vigorous life, the old epic ballad must be brought into correspondence with its new environment.

So in the eleventh century all the epic production of the past was made to centre in Charlemagne. The French *épopée* may be rightly characterized as the cycle of Charlemagne. It was in him that the whole body of songs found their centre of unity. The national poetry up to that time was classified and arranged after the events in the poetical life of the great emperor.

Charlemagne is undoubtedly the centre of the French *épopée*. All the *chansons de geste* are connected with the great king in one way or another. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi*. For three centuries *trouvères* and *jongleurs* had celebrated the great deeds of kings and warriors famous in the history of the Frankish people. But so powerfully did Charlemagne impress the imagination of Western Europe that all other kings were forgotten. Standing in lonely splendour, he put all other heroes in the shade. His exploits lived so much in the minds and hearts of the people that all the great events and glorious exploits of kings and warriors of the past, as expressed in the national epic ballads, were assigned to the great hero of the *épopée*, were grouped and co-ordinated in one vast story and arranged about him as its organic centre.

In the eyes of the poets and minstrels of the eleventh century in France, there was but one king. Charlemagne is regarded by them as the heir of all the traditions and songs which clustered round the names of Clovis, Dagobert, Charles Martel, Pepin, and even of his own son Louis. The most illustrious king of the line has eclipsed all the others. Charlemagne is the hero of all the grand episodes in the history of the Frankish nation.

This may have contributed to the confusion, at least in

the case of the *three* Charleses who figure in songs of diverse origin and inspiration, viz., of Charles Martel, Charles the Great, and Charles the Bold,—the three were all sons of a Pepin and fathers of a Louis.

As a result, by many displacements and alterations, the *trouvères* of the day composed of the material, new and old, one grand imposing character, king of the Franks and the emperor of Rome, a synthetical and glorified monarch, “the valiant Charlemagne, the son of old king Pepin”, and made him the centre figure of song and romance.

The same tendency is seen in the modification of all kinds of enemies into *one* type. As the kings of France were all assimilated to Charlemagne, so all the enemies were made to conform to one pattern. This type no doubt was adopted after the war in Spain, a war whose disastrous ending in history was converted in the songs into a glorious victory, in order to satisfy poetic justice.

Not being able to distinguish their enemies by any other means, they characterized them by their religion or the lack of it. All those who were not Christians were regarded as Saracens and Paynims, worshippers of Tergavant, Mahomet and Jupiter.

Old ballads which told of national struggles in Aquitaine, in Brittany, in Saxony, in Lombardy, were corrupted. The Saracens were brought in everywhere. Even Witikind, the Saxon, the most worthy opponent Charlemagne ever met in battle, becomes a Saracen in Jean Bodel’s *Chanson de Saisnes*, and Desiderius, the king of the Lombards, undergoes a similar treatment in *Chevalerie Ogier* and in *Aspremont*.

The enemies are always the objects of the most intense hatred and contempt. They are “*la pute gent*”, “*y genedd fudr*”.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Welsh Text*, p. 110.

If any among them made manifest some good point, they invariably, before the end of the action, become converted to the Christian faith, fight henceforth most valiantly on the side of Charlemagne, and render him most loyal service.

The war in Spain against the Saracens becomes the typical war. And though the action in the Valley of the Briars ended in the complete overthrow of the rearguard of Charlemagne's army, yet popular song ever regarded it as a great victory. The oral tradition of that notable event took up in its course down the centuries all the stirring elements of other scenes of action in divers lands, and formed of them the typical battlefield.

Even Charlemagne's other battles were almost forgotten. His wars against Lombards, Saxons, Bretons, Avares—some of which occupied nearly the whole of his reign—have hardly left a trace behind in the new *chansons* of the *épopée*.

The grand idea that obtains in all the romances of the period, both in prose and in rhyme, is this—the conflict of Christian Europe against the Saracens under the leadership of the Frankish people. Thus the person of Charlemagne is glorified as the type of the king of the Franks: All the glorious events of many a battlefield in the history of the Franks, and all the great characters whose exploits fired the imagination of the people for centuries, are blended and combined in one sublime scene in a grand drama,—the fight of the Christians against the Saracens in Spain under the direct command and leadership of their ideal king, Charlemagne.

The first portraits which tradition has gathered of Charlemagne give the impression of a grand and powerful character. In the prose romance of Turpin, which seems more primitive than the *chansons*, Charlemagne is depicted



in his "manhood's prime vigour". He is a fine and imposing character, strong both in mind and body. So strong was he that he could fell a horse and rider with one blow, straighten four horseshoes joined together, and lift with his right hand a fully equipped knight to the level of his face.<sup>1</sup> He is represented as fighting in person in the very thick of the battle. There is no indication of age or decay in anything that he does. This refers more especially to the latter part of Turpin's *Chronicle*. [In the first five chapters he is depicted at the close of his life with all his great achievements behind him. Here his piety is very marked. As a true son of the Church, though weary with oppressive labour, he once again unsheathes the sword to defend her.<sup>2</sup> His hobby seems to be to build churches here and there and everywhere, especially to St. James.<sup>3</sup>

In the *chansons*, which retain something of the national spirit, he is depicted as very old, with white hair and snowy beard flowing down his breast,<sup>4</sup> of superhuman majesty, prudent in counsel, valiant in battle. But his fighting days are a memory of the past.

In both prose and metrical romances, he is always the champion delegated by God to fight the faithless Paynims, destined to overthrow the power of Islam, and to establish the true faith on earth.

The epic king is attended with great pomp and circumstance. He has a gorgeous court, where he sits on a throne of gold. He is surrounded by a numerous and brilliant company of faithful knights, richly equipped in gold and silver armour, who are wedded to his throne and person, and who at his behest will encounter any form of danger to carry out his purpose, pre-eminent among whom stand the twelve peers of France: Roland, the Achilles of the Franks; Oliver, his brother-in-arms; Turpin, the

<sup>1</sup> *Welsh Text*, p. 26.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 59, 80.

militant Archbishop; Naimés, the Nestor of the college of peers; Geoffrey of Anjou, the king's standard-bearer, etc.

How far, then, does the epic Charlemagne reflect the real Charlemagne. To Charlemagne belongs the almost unique distinction of having two histories, one contained in the authentic annals of his country, and another evolved out of the affection and admiration of his countrymen. King Arthur, though a great hero of romance, has no assured position in history. He is almost, if not entirely, the creature of poetic imagination. The great ideal king of Wales has left hardly a trace of himself in history. But Charlemagne is great both in history and in song. The two narratives exist side by side, and both are on a grand scale.

Having given a short sketch of the Charlemagne of history, and the Charlemagne of romance, the question remains, how far does the latter reflect the former? How many of the traditions which cluster round his name have any foundation in fact?

To the historian the greatness of Charlemagne is altogether estimated by the position he holds in the true annals of his country. To him all the fictions of the *chansons* simply sully the fair name of the great king. Such, however, is not the case. For his greatness may also be estimated by the place he obtains in song. Granting that the historical elements are but faintly visible in the *chansons*, yet the existence of the epic Charlemagne bears testimony to the presence of great and commanding qualities in the man who could so impress the minds and fire the imagination of his countrymen as to evolve it. A commonplace king would not have suggested the heroic elements. It required a Charlemagne to create the French *épopée*, and the *épopée*, in turn, bears record to the grandeur of his character, "When God chose the ninety and nine

kingdoms of the world, He made of sweet France the best of all: and the best of kings that ruled in that realm was called Charlemagne.”<sup>1</sup>

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## TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

### I.—THE WELSH TEXT.

The Welsh text of the *History of Charlemagne* is interesting in that it, among many other indications, makes manifest how far Wales was in touch with the new life that was throbbing on the continent, and especially in France, during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> During this period there was a remarkable intellectual awakening in Wales. At the time of Charlemagne, with the possible exception of Rome and a few other cities of Italy, learning had abandoned the continent and retired beyond the sea among the Britons and Irish. The lamp of learning was also kept burning in Brittany, with which Wales kept up a close attachment as long as it had an independent existence as a political unity. Charlemagne, through Alcuin and others, endeavoured to dispel the ignorance, and his efforts were crowned with partial success. At the beginning of the eleventh century there were signs that the old world was about to awake from sleep. Europe was beginning to assume another aspect. Gregory VII announced the coming of a new era. Hildebrand infused his own energy into the great minds of

<sup>1</sup> “Quant Deus eslist nonante et nuef reiaimes  
Tot le meillor torna en dolce France.  
Li mieldre reis et a nom Charlemagne.”

(*Le couronnement de Louis*, vv. 12-15.)

<sup>2</sup> For the state of learning in Wales during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Wales, see *Ellis*, pp. 24, etc. On the literature of Wales during this period, see Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i, pp. 19-32; Stephens' *Literature of the Kymry*, pp. 318, etc.; Dr. Maclean's *Literature of the Celts*.

Europe, and contemporary with him, Scotus, Roscelin, and Abelard, stood up for liberty of thought and speech. Up to this time Latin was the sole medium of communication between the learned men of various countries. And though Latin still continued to hold its premier position, now, however, the languages of the people are seen forcing themselves into the best literature of the day.<sup>1</sup>

The Welsh people were already alert and better prepared than most other nations of Europe for the impulse which was now being given to every kind of intellectual effort. They had among them an order of bards, already numerous and well-disciplined, and a language which was in use in all its fulness and richness among all classes of the people. As a necessary consequence, their literature became superior, more copious and richer, than that of any contemporaneous nation.<sup>2</sup> When the impulse came, instead of having to form a new language, as the *trouvères* and chroniclers of France had to do, the poets and writers in Wales had one ready at hand, and that now found embodiment in the polished diction of a classic literature. At that time, the Welsh nation, though small, held an honourable position among the nations of Europe. In the community of letters it gave as much as it received. The contributions of the Welsh people, together with their kindred on the continent, enriched the thoughts and literatures of all the nations of Europe. For were they not the creators of Arthur of romance, and did not the Bretons first conceive the *Chanson de Roland*, France's great epic poem, its boast and pride.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ranke's *History of the Popes*, vol. i, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Price, *Hanes Cymru*, p. 526.

<sup>3</sup> G. Paris' *La Littérature Française au Moyen Âge*, p. 54. Intro. to his *Chanson de Roland*, pp. 10-11.

Much of the excellence of the Welsh literature of this period is undoubtedly due to the enlightened patronage of the Welsh princes. In the eleventh century two events happened which seem to have had a material influence on Welsh literature. The one was the return, in 1077, of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the true heir of the throne of South Wales, from Brittany, where he had taken refuge. The other was the landing, in 1080, of Gruffydd ap Cynan, the great central figure in Welsh history during the Norman period, from Ireland, where he had been in exile. The return of these two princes created a new era in Welsh literature. In North Wales this manifested itself in a very remarkable revival of poetry, while in South Wales it took the form of prose literature. Between 1080 and 1400, Stephens enumerates no less than seventy-nine bards. To this period belong the greatest monuments of Welsh genius—the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the *Book of Aneurin*, the *Book of Taliesin*, and the *Red Book of Hergest*.

It is probable that the introduction of the Arthurian traditions, in their Breton form, may be dated from the return of Rhys ap Tewdwr. The appearance of the *History of the Britons*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the first open manifestation of it. This book, written not later than 1147, in Latin, at once attained great popularity, and made the history it contained, together with the romantic tales of Uthr Pendragon and Arthur, familiar to the whole world. As Turpin wrote the romance of Charlemagne, and the *chansons* celebrated the glory of his vast empire, so Geoffrey wrote the epic history of the kings of Britain to enhance their glory, following in this the example set by Homer and Virgil in writing their epic poems.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Dr. Sebastian Evans' edition of *Geoffrey*, pp. 356-361; and Sedgwick's Intro. to his edition of *Æneid*, pp. 8, 9.

The *Welsh Text* itself supplies the material with which to decide the date of the translation. The translator says:—<sup>1</sup>

“And this book, Madoc ap Selyf translated from Latin into Welsh, at the request and prayer of Gruffydd ap Meredith ap Owain ap Gruffydd ap Rhys.”

The prince who prompted Madoc ap Selyf to translate Turpin's *History of Charlemagne* into Welsh was of the royal race of the South, a descendant of Lord Rhys, the patron of the Eisteddfod, and the founder of the abbey at Strata Florida, the greatest of all the Welsh abbeys. His father, Meredith ap Owain, who died in 1265, was Llewelyn the Great's most faithful ally, and fought side by side with him on many a battle-field. After Meredith's death, Llewelyn did not forget his debt to his old friend. For it was to defend his son, Gruffydd, against his English enemies, that prince Llewelyn gathered together his forces for the last time (1271).

This Gruffydd kept up the traditions of his forefathers in fostering the literature of his country. No doubt Madoc ap Selyf, the translator of the old *Latin Chronicle* of Turpin, was a poet attached to the royal court of *Y Deheubarth*, or connected with the abbey at Strata Florida, of which Gruffydd was patron.

The time, then, must have been not later than the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Madoc ap Selyf's date is given by Stephens as 1270-1300.<sup>2</sup>

The above date refers to the translation from the Latin. It should be noted that Madoc ap Selyf does not profess that he has translated anything from the French. This, among other reasons, implies that he is not the translator of *Roman d'Otuel*<sup>3</sup> and the *Chanson de Roland*.

<sup>1</sup> *Welsh Text*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> So is this *chanson* entitled in the Middlehill catalogue. The form *Otuel* or *Otwel* is found in all northern versions of the song, *e.g.*, in

It is important to bear in mind that the manuscripts in which the old literature of Wales, both original and derived, has been preserved and brought down, are copies of lost originals transcribed into the language of the copyist's time, though fortunately, through the inattention, or the conscious intentions, of the scribes, many older forms are left standing, betraying the age of the originals.

The translation of Madoc ap Selyf, among other works, was transcribed into the *Red Book of Hergest* at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The *Red Book of Hergest* is a very valuable MS. volume, in which has been preserved much of the ancient literature of Wales, and is now the property of Jesus College, Oxford. The book has been embellished in a magnificent binding of red morocco, with steel clasps, and is preserved in a case, and shewn as one of the curiosities of Oxford.

The book does not profess to contain anything original, but is rather an enormous compilation of Welsh compositions, in prose and verse, of all periods from the fifth century up to the middle of the fifteenth century. The MS. was given to Jesus College, in the year 1701, by Thomas Wilkins, of Llanblethian, to whom it had been left by Dr. John Davies. Dr. Davies obtained it in Glamorgan, in 1634, from Louis Mansel, of Margam, and it appears to have been in the possession of the Margam family for some time. The MS., however, takes its name from Hergest Court, a seat of the Vaughans, near Knighton, Radnor, and was probably compiled for them.

This book, so precious to Wales, is a thick folio MS., consisting of three hundred and sixty-two leaves of vellum, written at different times, extending from the

all the Charlemagne romances published by the E.E.T.S., in Karl. Saga, in K.K.K., and in both Hengwrt and Hergest MSS.

first part of the fourteenth century (1318), to the middle of the fifteenth century (1454). It is written in double columns, and apparently in three different handwritings.<sup>1</sup>

The first handwriting extends from column 1 to column 999. In this part of the MS. there is a chronology, terminating with the year 1318. The second handwriting begins at column 999, with the *Brut y Saeson*, and ends with the year 1376. The same handwriting goes on to column 1143. At column 1143 a more modern hand begins.

The Welsh text of the *History of Charlemagne* begins at column 381, and ends at column 502, and therefore it belongs to the early part of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The faithfulness with which the so-called Turpin's history was translated from the Latin, and the *Roman d' Otuel* and the *Chanson de Roland* from the French, is a proof, if such were needed, of the high state of learning in Wales at that time. These translations will bear comparison with any translation into any European language of the period.

Madoc ap Selyf's translation from Latin into Welsh is, apart from certain omissions—of geographical names for the most part—far more faithful to the original than any of the old French translations. He never shirks difficulties, but grapples with them successfully. There are no interpolations and no paraphrasings in his work.

The Welsh translation of the *Song of Roland* reads like an original, and is full of poetic feeling as to the way and the mode of expressing the thought. Compare in this respect the Charlemagne romances in old English literature.

<sup>1</sup> *Lit. of the Celts*, p. 219; *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Language*, vol. ii, part i, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* on this point Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, vol. ii, p. 423, and Max Nettlau's *Beiträge*, p. 13.



It may be that at that period the French language was generally spoken among the *courtois* class in England, with the result that no translations were necessary. But whatever be the reason, the old English translations, or rather adaptations, of the literature of the French *épopée* are very poor as compared with the Welsh translations. There is no comparison between them, either in faithfulness to originals or in beauty and felicity of diction. Evidently, the Middle Ages were not the Dark Ages in Wales. And not without cause is the cry raised in Wales to-day—"I godi'r hen wlad yu ei hol." It needs the up-lifting.

In the Middle Ages books were so difficult of access that writers were in the habit of extracting what appeared to them the most essential features of every branch of literature. Collecting them together they gave them to their readers in the form of a compilation. This was done with the material composing the French *épopée*. This is the form of the Welsh text. It is a cyclic composition. An attempt is made to compose, of the different romances, prose and metrical, of which Charlemagne is the centre, one grand whole; in a word, to write out the history of the great emperor, according to the epic conception, with the material of the songs and legends.

That the Welsh text is composed of different elements, introduced at different times, by different authors, is evident to any one reading it with a little attention. Some parts are plainly prose; others are, not less obviously, poetry. The sources of the work must be sought outside Wales. It has an air about it foreign to the world of the *Mabinogion*, the peculiar creation of the Brythonic mind and genius. The sources of the work are undoubtedly: (1) the Latin *Chronicle* of Turpin, (2) the French *Roman d'Otuel*, (3) the French *Chanson de Roland*.

*Analysis of the Welsh Text.*

	Welsh Text.	Source.
Pages	1— 28, l. 4.	Latin Version of Turpin's <i>Chronicle</i> , chapters i to xxi.
,,	28, l. 1— 74, l. 4.	French <i>Roman d'Otuel</i> (Middlehill MS.)
,,	74, l. 5— 96, l. 18.	French <i>Chanson de Roland</i> (an early version).
,,	96, l. 19—108, l. 9.	Latin Version of Turpin's less pp. 104, 5. <i>Chronicle</i> , chapters xxiii—xxxii.
,,	104, l. 21—105.	Supplementa.
,,	108, l. 10—111, l. 1.	Supplementa.
,,	111, l. 2, to end.	Latin Version of Turpin's <i>Chronicle</i> , chapter xxiii (a summary).

*The Contents of the Welsh Text.*

(A) *Outline of "Turpin's Chronicle"*.—When Charlemagne had conquered the world from sea to sea, and had brought it into subjection to the rule of Christ, St. James is represented as appearing to him in a vision. The king had been much interested at that time in astronomy, and was puzzled about the Milky Way—"the pathway of stars"—stretching across the heavens from the Frisian Sea to Galice, which was outside his empire. The Apostle told him that the meaning of it was that he was to go to Galice, in which land his bones were laid, and of which the Saracens were then masters. He urged Charlemagne to save Galice, promising to help him.

Charlemagne set out for Spain with a great army and besieged Pampeluna, which was invincible to his arms, but it fell a prey to his prayers. After further exploits

and the foundation of many churches, he returned home to France.

He was soon back again in Spain. For news had come that the Saracen king Aigolant had once more seized the country, and had attacked the garrisons left by Charlemagne to protect the Christians. On this expedition an awful example was made of a knight who unjustly kept back the alms left by a dying man to the clergy and the poor, for the rest of his soul.

Charlemagne besieged Agenni where Aigolant and the sixteen kings, his allies, were then encamped, and took it. Aigolant, however, fled to Santonica. Charlemagne followed him, and asked him to surrender the city. This he refused to do, saying that the city would be surrendered if he were beaten in a pitched battle. Aigolant was beaten, and fled to Pampeluna.

Charlemagne returned to France and brought out with him to Spain an immense army and besieged the city. A truce was granted, and Aigolant had a long discussion with Charlemagne concerning the respective merits of the Christian and the Saracen faith and practice. The question was submitted to the judgment of arms, and the Christians prevailed. Aigolant, being disgusted with the conduct of the Christians towards the poor and needy, refused baptism. A terrible battle followed, in which Aigolant was killed.

Charlemagne next attacked Furre, the king of Navarre, when Furre and three thousand of the Saracens were killed.

A giant dwelt at Nager, who had been sent by the king of Babylon to fight Charlemagne. This mighty man, Ferracut by name, offered to fight any of Charlemagne's men in single combat. He vanquished all the Paladins except Roland, who conquered him by means of a

stratagem. First of all, however, Roland and the giant had a long discussion concerning the great verities of the Christian faith.

Cordova was next attacked. There the Christians were almost vanquished, because both knights and horses were terrified by the ugly masks worn by the Saracens. Ultimately, however, the Paynims were conquered, and all put to the sword. Charlemagne then divided the whole of Spain between his own men.

Charlemagne held a great council at Santiago, made it an Apostolic See, and put the whole of Spain and Galice in subjection to it.

(B) *Outline of "Roman d' Otuel": Part I. The Conversion of Otuel.*—Charlemagne was holding a full court at Paris, surrounded by the twelve peers of France and a crowd of princes, counts, barons and knights, when a messenger arrived from the Saracen king Garsi, asking for the emperor. "Whence comest thou? and who art thou?" said Ogier. "I am Otuel", said he, "and I come from Spain. I am sent by the most powerful king, Garsi, to your king." Directed by the knights, the envoy made his way to the presence of Charlemagne, whom he summoned to pay homage to his lord, Garsi, and to renounce the Christian faith. Enraged by his words, a knight tried to kill him, but was himself killed by Otuel. By the persuasion of Charlemagne and Roland he gave up his sword and delivered his message. He made loud boast of his prowess in battle, and challenged Roland to single combat, which the latter accepted. After Mass the following morning they prepared for the fight, Otuel being equipped by Belicent, the emperor's daughter. Between two such great champions there was a terrible encounter, and the fight was carried on with varied success. Roland tried to convert Otuel, but all in vain.

Heaven intervened. A dove came flying and rested upon Otuel's helmet. Regarding this as a divine token, he agreed to renounce the law of Mahomet and to become a Christian. He was baptized, and Belicent was betrothed to him.

*Part II. The Expedition against Garsi.*—Otuel took his place among the twelve peers, and with the army of Charlemagne marched against Garsi, whose most furious and most relentless enemy he became. On the 1st of April the army started, and arrived soon near the city Atalie, where Garsi was. Roland, Oliver, and Ogier rode out of the camp and met four Saracen kings, three of whom they slew, and the fourth they made a prisoner. But the Saracens came up, and the French knights were compelled to let their prisoner go. Overpowered by numbers, Roland and Oliver took to flight, and Ogier was taken prisoner. Otuel met Roland and Oliver flying. The three returned and made havoc among the Saracens. Otuel fought a duel with Clarel and killed him. A general battle followed, during which Ogier escaped. The Saracens were utterly routed, and Garsi was made a prisoner and brought to Charlemagne.

(C) *Outline of "La Chanson de Roland"*.—Garsi being in prison, Marsile took command of the Saracen forces in Spain. Knowing he could not withstand Charlemagne's might, he sent to him legates seeking peace. Two brothers of noble birth, Bazin and Bezile, were sent by the emperor to state terms. These not being acceptable, the Paynim king put the ambassadors to a shameful death. Charlemagne set out to avenge the injury and insult. Moved again by the knowledge that he could not meet the forces of France in the field, Marsile sent his prime minister, Blancandrin by name, as ambassador to the king, and promised to submit to him, to receive Christian

baptism, and to give him hostages and presents. The emperor summoned his barons to consider these terms. Roland advised the king not to accept them. Ganelon, on the contrary, urged Charlemagne not to reject the offer, and that an ambassador be sent to Marsile to state what the emperor demanded of him. This plan was adopted. Naines, Roland, Oliver, Turpin offered to go on this embassy. To this Charlemagne would not consent. He knew that it was a mission full of danger, and would not allow any of his twelve peers to risk his life in its commission. Roland mentioned the name of Ganelon. To that all the barons agreed. But Ganelon, who recalled the fate of Bazin and Bazile,<sup>1</sup> swore in case he returned home sound and safe, of which indeed he had no hope, that he would be avenged on Roland.<sup>2</sup> Ganelon joined Blancandrin and set out for Saragossa, carrying with him the emperor's letter. On the way he could not hide his hatred of Roland. Blancandrin took advantage of it and induced him to conspire against Roland's life.

When he arrived at Saragossa Ganelon delivered his message with such haughtiness that Marsile tried to smite him with his javelin. Blancandrin intervened, and Marsile was appeased. King and ambassador communed together, and the conversation ended in Ganelon consenting to betray the emperor, and to see that Roland, "the emperor's right arm", was placed in the rear of the army with a small number of soldiers. The Saracens were

<sup>1</sup> No account of the embassy of Bazin and Bazile is found in the Oxford MS.

<sup>2</sup> According to Turpin's *Chronicle* Ganelon had no bad feeling towards Roland. He was simply corrupted by the Saracens' gold. Ganelon returned to the Franks' camp with sweet wine and fair Saracenes, and their defeat on the morrow was the direct result of their debauchery the night before. It was a punishment for their sins.

to surround this small force with a great army in the narrow defiles of the Pyrenees, and thus to destroy it. Marsile and his barons loaded the traitor with presents.

Returning to Charlemagne, Ganelon reported that his embassy had been most successful, that Marsile would come to Aix-le-Chapelle to receive Christian baptism, and that he had sent with him the tribute the emperor demanded of him.

The army in joy began to strike their tents and gather their cattle and to start for their longed-for France.

On the morrow Charlemagne, who had been troubled by dreams foreboding some evil, consulted his barons who should be in command of the rear-guard. Ganelon mentioned Roland. \*Roland, though the emperor did not like it, was delighted with the post. He would not accept more than twenty thousand men with him. The twelve peers joined themselves to him. The army set out for the gates of Spain. Soon the emperor and his part of the army came to Gascony.

Meanwhile the Saracens approached the rear-guard, one hundred thousand strong. Oliver discovered them and was astonished at their number. He asked Roland to sound his horn to recall Charlemagne to their succour. Through an exaggerated sense of honour he refused to do so. The battle then began. Turpin had already blessed the soldiers and absolved them, telling them that the gates of Paradise were opened to receive their souls if they fell in fighting for their faith. Roland also roused their enthusiasm, and recalled the fact that the emperor had entrusted to them a post of great honour, and that they must see to it that that confidence was justified. To the cry of "Monjoie" they rushed into the fray, and a terrible battle ensued. The Saracens were vanquished. But new forces of the Paynims appeared on the scene without

cessation, and the Franks fell under the pressure of superior force.\*<sup>1</sup> One by one the peers were slain. At last Roland agreed to sound his horn. But he blew it with such force that he burst the vein of his neck. The emperor, though eight miles away, heard the sound, and in spite of Ganelon's advice to the contrary, retraced his steps. But he arrived too late. All were dead.<sup>2</sup> Charlemagne deplored the death of his knights. He gathered his forces and pursued the enemy and slaughtered them, the sun staying in its course to help him. The Franks returned to Roncesvalles. They wept for their brave companions. Some of the dead they buried there on the field of battle. The bodies of the knights were embalmed and carried to France, where they were buried. Ganelon was torn in pieces by wild horses. A great assembly was held at the Church of St. Denis to return thanks to God for the subjection of the Paynims to Christian arms.

After a time Charlemagne's health suffered, and his death approached. Turpin had a vision. He saw an "army of demons" preparing to carry off the emperor's soul to hell on account of his sins. They were foiled, however, by St. James, who, in return for Charlemagne's benevolence towards him in the building of many churches to his name, rescued his soul and bore it into heaven.

## II—OTHER TEXTS.

The original texts of the Welsh *History of Charlemagne* were written some in Latin and some in French. The *Chronicle* of Turpin was originally written in Latin, and

<sup>1</sup> A *lacuna* exists in Hergest MS. between the \* . . \*. This is supplied by the Hengwrt MS.

<sup>2</sup> According to Turpin's *Chronicle*, two Frankish knights escaped, Baldwin and Thierry, who came to Charlemagne to announce, the first the general disaster, and the second, the death of Roland.



the *Roman d'Otuel* and the *Chanson de Roland*, in French. The *Chronicle* was soon translated into French, and into almost all the languages of Europe. The *Chanson de Roland* was still more popular, and still more widely translated. The *Roman d'Otuel*, though not so generally known, has been put in a number of other tongues. So that there exists an abundance of other texts with which to compare the Welsh text of the Hergest MS.

(1) *The Latin Text.*

“Turpini de Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi Historia.”

There are five printed editions of the Latin “History.”

(1) The first printed edition of the Latin text is that of Simon Schardius, who published it, *in folio*, at Frankfort-on-Main, in 1566, in a collection which he entitled, *Germanicarum rerum quatuor celebriores, vetustioresque chronographos. . . . Francofurti ad Mœnum, Anno 1566*. Turpin’s *Chronicle* is the first of the four, and its full title there is:—*Iohannes Turpinus de Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi*.

(2) The second edition is that of Justus Reuber. This was published eighteen years after Schardius, *in folio*. This again is in a collection which has the following title:—*Veterum Scriptorum qui Caesarum et Imperatorum Germanicorum res per aliquot sæcula gestas litteris mandarunt tomus unus ex bibliotheca Justi Reuberi, etc. Francofurti, Anno 1584*.

This volume contains thirteen different works in all, of which the first three are:—

- i. *Vita et gesta Caroli Magni per Eginhartum.*
- ii. *Annales regum Francorum, Pipini, Caroli Magni, et Ludovici, a quodam ejus ætatis astronomo conscripti.*
- iii. *Turpini de vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi Historia.*

A second edition of this was published at Hanover in 1619, and a third at Frankfort-on-Main in 1726. This last edition contains all the *Supplementa* found in Lambecius' *Commentaria*, published in 1665.

(3) In 1822, Sebastian Ciampi published his edition of the *Chronicle* at Florence. Its title is:—*De Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi Historia Ioanni Turpino Archiepiscopo Remensi vulgo tributa . . . . Florentiae, 1822, 8vo.*

Ciampi's text does not differ much from that of Schardius and Reuber. The three editions have as a preface the letter of Turpin to Leoprand, the Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle. Schardius and Reuber, however, omit the iii chapter of Turpin as found in Ciampi, the chapter entitled: "*Nomina Villarum et Urbium*", etc.

The three editions end with these words:—"qui legis hoc carmen Turpino posce juvamen ut pietate Dei subveniatur ei. Amen."

(4) In 1836-38, M. de Reiffenberg published at Brussels an edition of Turpin's Latin *History* in connection with his edition of *Philippe Mousket*. This also contains the *Supplementa*.

(5) Ferdinand Castets brought out an edition of Turpin for the Society for the Study of the Romance Languages. Its title is:—*Turpini historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi. Ferdinand Castets. Montpellier, 1880.* (Publ. vii des publications spéciales du Société pour l' étude des langues romanes.)

The reputed author of the *Chronicle* is Turpin, or Tyllpinus, as the name appears in its German form, who was Archbishop of Rheims from 756 up to his death, about 800, and who was then a real contemporary of those who perished at Roncevalles in 778 (*vide* Gautier's *Ch. de R.*, p. 21).

Turpin's *Chronicle* was regarded for centuries as the record of actual deeds done. Schardius and Reuber without any hesitation insert this epic history in collections which included writers acknowledged as historians of repute. Later editors, it is true, cast doubt upon the advisability of allowing Turpin a place side by side with Eginhard. But it remains a fact that he was so esteemed by the first editors in both cases.

When the first edition of the *History* appeared, the generally received opinion concerning it was that it was the work of one man, and it was assigned to one date and one country. But when learning revived, doubts were entertained on these points. One point was soon settled, it was not written in the time of Turpin nor by him. Some were of the opinion that it was written by Pope Callixtus II, three centuries after the death of Charlemagne, with the object of increasing the number of pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Santiago de Compostella. Oudinus (*de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, vol. ii, p. 68) writes:—"Auctor hujus operis non Turpinus, sed Callixtus II Papa, qui tribus post mortem Caroli Magni saeculis, illam fabulam confinxit, non ut Carolum Magnum, sed ut Sanctum Iacobum Apostolum et ecclesiam Compostellanam, quam ardentem amabat, illustriores his fabulis faceret: unde nil mirum quod in MS. Cantabrigiensi S. Benedicti Callistus II hanc fabulam a se confictam, dicat *opus authenticum*, primus que omnium illius mentionem faciat" (quoted in Reuber, p. 94; Ciampi, p. vi; see also Dr. Sach's *Beiträge*, p. 34).

Others are not so definite as to the author, though convinced that the book was forged by someone interested in exalting the glory of the shrine of St. James at Padron in Galice before it was transferred to Compostella (cf. "*Compostella qualis tunc temporis parva*", Turpin, chap. iii, Ciampi). In any case, the *Chronicle* was approved by

Callixtus II in 1122, with the result that it had an enormous circulation.

Others, again, maintain that the book was written in the interest of the Crusades. Warton (*Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i, p. 128) says:—"It was forged about 1110 with the design of giving countenance to the Crusades." This is also the opinion of M d'Eichkor (*Histoire du Moyen Age*) "C'est après la première croisade du commencement du xii siècle que les moines inventèrent l'histoire de Charlemagne connue sous le nom de Turpin . . . Les fables des guerres de Charlemagne et de Roland avec les infidèles devoient encourager et enflamer les Chrétiens contre les Mahométans" (quoted by Ciampi, p. x).

The final word on this question has been said by M. Gaston Paris, who, in his Latin treatise, *De Pseudo Turpino*, has made an exhaustive study of the subject. His opinion is that the *Chronicle* is not the work of Turpin, but that of several authors who wrote at different times and in divers places, but that all wrote between the beginning of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth century. If the letter of Callixtus II, recommending the history as authentic to the faithful, be spurious, the first mention of it goes back to the year 1165. It is more than once quoted before the end of the twelfth century. The first ten years of the thirteenth century produced three, if not four, translations of it, and from the year 1205 writers of great historical compilations have admitted it into their works without any misgiving. It was only at the Renaissance, soon after Schardius had published his first edition of the Latin text, that Papire Masson, first of all, declared the work to be fictitious and mythical. The *Chronicle* is based partly on traditions and partly on the *chansons de geste*, while some parts are pure invention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Poet.*, p. 58.

For critical purposes the *Chronicle* is divided into two parts, the one comprising chapters i to v, and the other chapters vi to the end.

The first five chapters contain the epic account of the expedition into Spain as a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James at Santiago. The writer of this first part does not endeavour to persuade his readers that he is Turpin. In fact the archbishop is only just named in passing. Nor does his eye rest on any *chanson* while writing. There is no trace of any of the old songs of the *épopée* underlying his narrative. In this part of the book two things, at least, are noticeable: the piety of the writer, and his evident and exact knowledge of Spanish things. He does not mention anything which pertains not to Spain. Battles are referred to, but not described. Long discourses are not reported, but prayers and miracles are recorded. And all accounts are given in as concise a manner as possible. Roland is not so much as named once. The writer does not know, or does not care to tell, of Roncesvalles. The author has no other object in writing than to induce the faithful to visit the tomb of St. James at Santiago-de-Compostella. M. Gaston Paris concludes that the first five chapters were written before the rest of the book, and that the author was a Spaniard. A Frenchman could not, at that time, know the names of all cities and towns of Spain mentioned in the third chapter of the *Chronicle* (Ciampi's edition). He further maintains that the writer was a monk of Compostella, that he wrote his book to the glory of the Church of St. James and to induce the faithful to visit the shrine of the apostle, and that this part of the book was written about the eleventh century (A.D. 1050). The latter portion of the *Chronicle* (chaps. vi to xxxii) lends itself to various interests, which employed as many biased writers, who introduced matters

into the history according to their own predilection. In this part of the book names are given which are not found anywhere save in the *chansons*, such as Aigoland, Marsile, etc. The writer of the first portion mentions Turpin once, and gives no hint to the reader that he was the author of the book. In the latter portion, the writer refers to himself often as "I, Turpin", and he wishes to impress upon his readers that he was an actual eye-witness of all the events he records. In the first part, no Christian warrior except Charlemagne is mentioned. In the second part, many names of knights famous in songs are given. The first portion is written to the glorification of St. James of Compostella; at the end of the second part, the first rank belongs to St. Denis.

M. Gaston Paris concludes that the second portion of the *Chronicle* (chapters vi—xxxii), together with the prologue, was composed by a monk of St. Andrew, at Vienne, any time between the years 1109 and 1119.

*Old French Translations of the "History".*

The *Chronicle* of Turpin seems to have been translated into French at a very early date. There are five old translations of it, of which four belong to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

(1) The oldest of these translations is that of Nicholas de Senlis. There are two copies of this old work in the Imperial Library, Paris, the one marked Fr. MS. 124 and the other Fr. MS. 5,714. These two MSS. have been collated and published by M. Theodor Auracher, at Halle-on-S., in 1877.

The preface to this translation informs the reader that Baldwin, Count of Hainault ("li cuens de Chainau"), having

<sup>1</sup> On these old translations, *vide* Gaston Paris, *De Pseudo Turpino*, chap. vii; and his *La litt. française au Moyen Age*, pp. 137, 138.

no faith in the *chansons* concerning Charlemagne, sought out for his true history. After a long search, he found at Sanz in Burgundy, the Life of Charlemagne which Turpin wrote in Latin. He had a copy of it made for himself, and guarded it with great care as long as he lived. At the close of his life, the Count sent this Latin book to his sister, Iolande, the Countess of St. Paul, and she, in turn, requested Nicholas de Senlis to translate it from Latin into French, "without rhyme, for rhyme supplies words not found in the Latin original".

This is the story of this translation as related in Nicholas' own words:—"En l' enor nostre Seignor qui est Peres e Filz e Saint Esperiz, e qui est un Dex en trois persones, e au nom de la gloriose mere ma dama Sainte Marie, voil commencer l'estoire si cum li bons enpereires Karlemaines en ala en Espaigne por la terra conquerra sor sarrazins. Maintes gens en ont oi conter e chanter, mes n'est si mensongie non ço qu'il en dient e chantent cil jogleor ne cil conteor, nus contes rimes n'est verais, tot est menssongie ço qu' il en dient, quar il non seuient rien fors par oit dire.

"Li bons Baudoin, li cuens de Chainau, si ama molt Karl'maine. Ni ne veut unques croire chose que l'en chantast: ainz fit chercher les bones abaies de France e garder par toz les armaires por savior si l'òm i troveroit la veraie estoira: ni onques trover ne li porent li clerc. Tant avint que uns sis cleirz ala en Borgognie par l'estoire quere eisi cum De plot, si la trova à Sanz en Borguonie. Icele estoire domeinament que Turpin, le bons arcevesque de Reins escrit en Espaigne qui avoc le bon enpereor fu. Li clers au bon compte Boudoin contre-escrit l'estoire e à son Seignor l'aporta, qui molt l'én tinc en grant cherte tant cum il vesqui, e quant il dut murir, si enveia le livre à sa seror la bone Iolent, la contessa de Saint Po, e si

manda que par amor de lui, gardast le livre tant cum ela vivreit. La bone contessa ha gardé le livre jusqu' a ore. Or si me proie que je le meta de Latin en romanz. Por ço que teus set de letra qui de Latin ne seust eslire, e por romanz sera li mierz gardez."<sup>1</sup>

These words of Nicholas supply material for deciding the date of the translation. Iolande, the eldest sister of Baldwin, Comte de Hainau, was married to her second husband, Hugh, Comte de St. Paul, about the year 1198. Her brother died in 1195, and her husband, the count, died in 1205. So that the date of the translation must be somewhere between 1198 and 1205 (Warton, vol. i, p. 128). Gaston Paris says about 1200 ("circa annum mcc probabilius", *De Pseudo Turpino*, p. 46).

MS. 5,714 seems older than MS. 124. The translation in both copies is freely interpolated. Others have applied themselves to the task of forging and augmenting Turpin, but the interpolater of this translation leaves all far behind him. The interpolation should not be assigned to the translator, but to a later writer. This is a fair translation of the Latin text up to the tenth line in the seventeenth page (Auracher), *i.e.*, the middle of the ninth chapter of the Latin Turpin. Then comes a short interpolation to line twelve, page nineteen, after which Turpin is followed to the end of the ninth chapter. Then comes a long interpolation of sixteen pages—from page 16 to page 38. The interpolater was a native of Santonica. For he describes hardly anything beyond the neighbourhood of Santonica, or rather the city itself. He makes use of the flight of Aigolant, to which Turpin merely refers, as a peg on which to hang many local legends. There is a reference to *Taillefer de Leon*, who was not known elsewhere, but who was regarded by

<sup>1</sup> M. Th. Auracher, pp. 6 and 7.



the people of Santonica as a great hero. Besides, MS. 124 bears trace of the dialect of Santonica.

This old translation is very important from a critical point of view, in that it decides what was in the Latin original at the date it was translated, being three hundred and fifty years older than the first printed edition of the Latin. MS. 124 and MS. 5,714 contain the prologue addressed to Leoprand, Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle. The twenty-first chapter of the Latin (Ciampi) is wanting, and the *epitaphium* (page 73). The *Supplementa* on the Seven Arts, Roland's Adventure, the Death of Turpin, and Aumaçor of Cordres, are found in it.<sup>1</sup>

The translation printed in Paris in the year 1527, by Pierre Vidone for Regnault Chauldière, and reprinted in Gothic characters in 1835, contains all the interpolations of the MSS. 5,714 and 124, and is not Robert Gayuin's translation.

(2) *Cod. Gall.*, 52, or, *Johannis*. So according to M. Gaston Paris should this translation be designated, a translation generally assigned, but without any reason, to Michael Harnes. There are six copies of this translation in the Imperial Library, Paris. The oldest of these, as well as the copy in the British Museum (*vide* Dr. Sach's *Beiträge*, p. 35) refers in the prologue to the fact that Reginald, the Count of Boulogne, found the Latin copy of Turpin in the *Chronicle* of St. Denis, and had it translated from the Latin into French in the year 1206.

Three of the copies in the Imperial Library, Paris, state that Michael de Harnes found the book of Reginald, Count of Boulogne, and had it translated. This is not the case. Michael Harnes was not the translator, but the patron. There is a copy of this translation in the State

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Welsh Text*, pp. 104-5, 107, 108, 111.

Library, Munich (*Cod. Gall.*, 52); this was published by M. Theo. Auracher, at Munich, in 1876. One copy (MS. 921) ends with these words:—"Here ends the history of Charlemagne, which Master John translated."<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Anonymous*. So does M. Gaston Paris designate MS. 1850 (*De Pseudo-Turpino*, p. 59). This is a fair translation of Turpin. The prologue is wanting, but it contains most of the *Supplementa*. It is supposed to have been written sometime between the year 1200 and 1220.

(4) *Anonymous*. This is the second translation by a person unknown. Its library mark is B.N., No. 2137, and it is supposed to have been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The prologue is wanting; the *Supplementa* are found. In addition, it contains a chapter, "de nomine Navarrorum", which is found in several Latin copies (though not in Ciampi), but only in this French translation.

Both these MSS., 1850 and 2137, have been published by Fred. Wulff, in 1881. The full title of his work is:—*La Chronique dite de Turpin, publiée d'après les MSS. B. N., 1850 et 2137, par Fredrik Wulff. Lund. 1881.*

(5) The translation of William de Briane. The only copy of this translation is in the British Museum. It was written about the middle of the thirteenth century. (*Vide De Pseudo-Turpino*, p. 60.)

(6) Robert Gaguin's translation (?). There are many references, here and there, to a translation of the *Chronicle* by one Robert Gaguin, which is said to have been published in Gothic characters, in Paris, in 1527.<sup>2</sup>

The book and the authorship are denied by August Potthast (*Bibliotheca historica Medii Aevi*, p. 554); and J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hengwrt MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Ciampi's Intro., pp. viii, ix. M. Theo. Auracher's Intro. to *Cod. Gall.*, 52, p. 3.

Burnet (*Enchiridion*, vol. v, p. 98), who is an authority on the subject, and has made a special study of it, says that he has never seen the book, and that its existence even has never been proved. With this, Gaston Paris agrees (*De Pseudo-T.*, p. 53).

(7) *La Chronique de Turpin*.—In 1835, a reprint was made of an edition, in quarto, printed in Paris, in 1527, by Pierre Vidone for Regnault Chauldière.

This is really a modern edition in Gothic characters of the old translation of Nicholas de Senlis, seeing that it contains the interpolations peculiar to MSS. 124 and 5714. The edition was limited to 120 copies, and is now consequently very rare. Its full title is:—“*Cronique ou hystoire faicte et composée par réuérend père en dieu, Turpin archeuesque de Reims lung des pairs de france. Contenant es prouesses et faictz darmes aduenuz en son temps du très magnanime Roy Charles le grant, autrement dit Charlemaigne et de son nepueu Raoulant.*”<sup>1</sup>

*The French Texts: “Roman d’Otuel” and “Chanson de Roland”.*

There is but one printed edition<sup>2</sup> of the Otuel story, and this was published in Paris in 1858, when a series of the old poets of France were brought out under the auspices of the French Minister of Public Instruction. Its full title is “*Otinél, chanson de geste, publiée pour la première fois, d’après les manuscrits de Rome et de Middlehill, par MM. F. Guessard et H. Michelant. Paris MDCCCLVIII.*”

<sup>1</sup> There is a copy of this in Dr. Williams’ Library, London.

<sup>2</sup> In *Romania*, vol. xii, there is a fragment of this song corresponding to vv. 637-929 of *Chanson d’Otinél*, and page 42, line 16, to page 49, line 22, of the Welsh Text. Apparently it has the same origin as the Middlehill MS., and where it departs from the text of the *Chanson d’Otinél*, it always approaches the Welsh Text. Compare passages quoted in the translation.

To enumerate all the editions of the *Chanson de Roland* would fill many pages.

The *Roman d'Otuel* celebrates an expedition of Charlemagne into Lombardy against King Garsi, and although the event unfolds itself in Italy, the song itself is attached to the epic history of the conquest of Spain, where it forms a kind of parenthesis to the story. The song is from first to last the outcome of poetic fancy. It has no foundation either in history or in tradition. It is a poem of pure invention. The *Roman* itself belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century, and it seems to have been from an early date a great favourite in this country. Not only is it translated into Welsh, but there are two free translations of it in English. It is also found among the imported sagas of Iceland, and forms a part of the Danish cycle of Charlemagne romances.

There are only two known MS. copies of this romance—the Vatican MS. and the Middlehill MS. These two differ in some minor points, and when they do so, the Welsh text of Hergest invariably follows the Middlehill MS.

(i) The *Vatican MS.* is in the Library of the Vatican. It is a small octavo volume of 124 leaves of parchment, composed of divers works. *Chanson d'Otinel* begins at folio 93. This MS. contains many *lacunae*, one from folio 103 to folio 108.

(ii) The *Middlehill MS.*, No. 8345, was preserved in the rich library of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill.<sup>1</sup> It is a small volume in folio, of vellum, with double columns, and contains twenty-three pages. This copy is complete. But the editors of the *Chanson d'Otinel* found the Middlehill MS. so incorrect that they gave up the idea of publishing it in its entirety.<sup>2</sup> They have, however, filled up the *lacunae* existing in the Vatican MS. The parts so given

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Sachs' Beiträge.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Intro.*, p. xiii.

suffice to shew that the Welsh text of the Hergest is a translation of the Middlehill MS. Characteristic passages peculiar to the MS. shew how intimate is the relationship between it and the Welsh Text, where we find them translated in each case almost word for word, *e.g.* :—

- (1) “Bien est armé à lei de chevalier  
 Ses cunnuissances sunt d'un paille cursier.  
 Ne paisent mie quatre fuilz d'un saltier,  
 N'est mie nez quis péunst alegier ;  
 Kar fen ne flamme nes poet damager :  
 E cil qui at le pesant d'un denier,  
 Tant nes péusse naverer ne blescier,  
 Ke ne se sente tut sein e tut legier.”

*Middlehill MS.*<sup>1</sup>

“Ac ef yn gyweir o aruen diogel | y gwnsallt o bali odidawe  
 ydoed | ny phwyssei pedeir dalen y sallwyr ny bei nawr y volym | ac  
 na anet yn dyn a allei y gwerthydyaw | kany allei na than na hayarn  
 argwedu idaw | a phwy bynnac agaffei bwys vn geinawe o honaw | yr  
 meint y brethit neu y dyrnodedu agaffei | ef avydei holl iach ac  
 amysgawn.”

*Welsh Text*, p. 53.

- (2) “Pur Den, dit il, dite mei, sire reis :  
 Devez annit contréer ces Franceis ?  
 Alez vos querre or le cras lard as peis ?  
 Nel mangereient por mil mars d'or keneis :  
 Altre mès faites, ço est manger à burgeis.”

*Middlehill MS.*<sup>2</sup>

“Ydywawt wrthaw, Arglwyd urenhin, heb ef | ae tidi abyrrth hynn  
 oll o freine heno | ae mynet yr awr honn y dodi kie hwch y verwi  
 ndunt gyt a phys. | Ni vwyteynt hwy y ryw vwynt hwnnw yr mil o  
 uorken eur. | Keis anregyon ereill ndunt Kany's bwynt y dayogen  
 porthmyn yw hwnnw.”

*Welsh Text*, p. 73.

Compare also with the Welsh Text on pp. 46 to 53 the long passage from the Middlehill MS. on pp. 28 to 38 of *Chanson d'Otinel*, introduced by the editors to supply the lacuna in the Vatican MS.

The Middlehill MS. text of the *Roman d'Otuel* is now in the possession of T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., Thirlestaine

<sup>1</sup> *Chanson d'Otinel*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

House, Cheltenham, grandson of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps.

It is a singular fact that, notwithstanding the great popularity of the song of Roland, as evidenced by the numerous versions of it in other languages, there should be so few MSS. of the original French poem. The oldest and best MS. of the *Chanson* is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and is known as Digby MS. 23. It is an octavo volume on vellum, and is believed to have been written in the twelfth century.

The Song of Roland was first published and edited by M. Francisque Michel in 1837, from the Digby MS. There is another old version of the poem preserved in the Library of St. Mark, Venice. This MS. was written in 1245. It agrees with the Digby version up to verse 3682; then it goes on to relate quite another story.

These are the two principal manuscripts of the song. There is, however, a second group of manuscripts, to which the general name of *Roman de Roncevaux* is given. This group comprises MSS. at:—(a) Paris, (b) Venice, (c) Chateauroux, (d) Lyon, (e) Lorrain, (f) Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> These versions do not preserve the traditions exactly in their primitive forms. Other texts, such as the German *Ruolandes-Liet* and the Icelandic *Karlamagnus Saga*, preserve the more ancient traits. The *Chronicle of Turpin* has a still more ancient form of the story. The version known to the translator of the Hergest copy is neither that of the Digby MS. nor any other of the known forms.

#### *French Compilations.*

In the Middle Ages, books were so expensive and so difficult of access that authors endeavoured to comprise in one volume the essential features of any branch of litera-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Stengel's Intro., p. iv; Gautier's Intro., p. xxxv.

ture. This tendency obtained in the French *épopée*. Attempts were made to compose of the *chansons de geste*, of which Charlemagne was the central figure, one grand whole, to make of them a history—a continuous history of the great emperor according to the epic narrative. These works took up prose and metrical romances as well as historical facts, and endeavoured to present a whole life history of the great king.

(1) *Philippe Mousket* is the author of one of these compilations. He wrote a general history of France up to the year 1242. His object was to write history, but much legendary material has crept into his metrical *Chronicle*. It is a long work, comprising over 21,000 verses. The history of Charlemagne occupies about one-third of the book. Though it has no poetic merit, it has true historical value for the author's own time, and is of great literary interest for the age of Charlemagne. For Mousket has intertwined with his history many extracts of songs which are now lost. Others preserved by him furnish important variants with those which are still extant (cf. Gaston Paris, *Hist. Litt. Moyen Age*, p. 140). This metrical *Chronicle* was published by M. de Reiffenberg, in Brussels, in 1836-38, in two volumes quarto.

(2) Girard d'Amiens wrote his *Roman de Charlemagne* somewhere between 1285 and 1314. The *Roman de Charlemagne* is a kind of poetical history of the great emperor, and it is divided into three books. Girard wished to be regarded as a historian. The first book, which the author pretends to draw from the *Chronicles of Aix*, is simply a travesty of the song of *Mainet*. The second is consecrated to the life of Charlemagne, after the *Chronicles of St. Denis*. The third book contains Turpin's *Chronicle* in metrical form, but with many variants.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a full summary of the *Charlemagne* of Gerard vide Gaston Paris, *Hist. Poet.*, pp. 471-482.

(3) David Aubert's *Les conquestes de Charlemaigne*. When the old *chansons de geste* had lost favour, and prose had usurped the position of poetry, many lovers of the old "courtois" literature wished to have the life of Charlemagne and his illustrious knights put in the old form of song. Philippe, Duke of Bourgoyne, was one of them, and he had a life of Charlemagne composed for him. There is in the Library of Bourgoyne, in Brussels, a fine MS. copy, forming two books in three volumes, and entitled *Les Conquestes de Charlemagne*. On the last page it is stated "that it was extracted and put in good French by David Aubert in the year 1488". This was the best attempt at putting the poetical history of Charlemagne in proper form. It has a unity which is lacking both in Philippe Mousket and in Girard d'Amiens. His story of the wars in Spain seems founded on good originals. To Turpin he joins the Latin legend of the voyage to Jerusalem.

(4) *La conquête que fit le grand roi Charlemagne es Espaignes*.—This work should not be confounded with David Aubert's compilation. The book is the same as that which bears the name of *Fierabras*, and is divided into three parts, of which the second part is only a prose translation of the old *chanson*, *Fierabras*. The first part contains (a) an abridged history of France from Clovis; (b) a eulogy of Charlemagne and a summary of his reign; (c) an account of the voyage to Jerusalem after the Latin story. The second part, as was said, contains the story of *Fierabras*. The third part recounts the war in Spain according to Turpin's *Chronicle*.

The author himself furnishes his readers with particulars about the sources of his book. He says, first of all, that he wrote it at the request of Henry Bolomier, Canon of Lausanne, who was a great admirer of Charlemagne. Further, he says that he had derived most of his material



from a book entitled *Le Mirouer Hystorial*, and other chronicles. But it is certain that the author consulted no other authority than Vincent de Beauvais in *Speculum historiale*, as far as the first and third parts of his book are concerned. Of the second part, the author says that it was a romance which he was induced to render into prose, and it was called by some *Fierabras*. So the author did little more than translate into French the Latin of Vincent de Beauvais, and the verse of *Fierabras*. It appeared under the title *Fierabras* in 1478, and it was not known under the title *Les conquestes de Charlemagne* before 1501. It was a great success from the first, and it was this that Caxton translated into English.

#### *German Compilations.*

The material of the French *épopée* was early transferred to other countries. Germany and France have both claimed the glory of having produced Charlemagne. Such being the case, it is significant that when Germany wished to sing the praises of the great emperor it had to borrow from the song-literature of France.

(1) *Ruolandes-Liet*.—This is the most ancient translation of the *Chanson de Roland*, and it bears the name of Conrad, a German *curé*, who is said to have translated it into Latin, and then into German.<sup>1</sup> Grimm fixes the date of it between the year 1173 and 1177. Gautier and Paris put it down to the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> It is really more of an imitation than a translation. Though it is more like the Digby MS. than any other text, at the same time it has peculiarities of its own, which makes it quite unique. Its most remarkable feature is its religious tone.

(2) *Stricker's Karl*.—This is a complete revision of the

<sup>1</sup> Intro., p. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Intro., p. xxxviii; *Hist. Poet.*, p. 120.

old *Ruolandes-Liet* of Conrad. The poet is known under the name of Stricker or the "Arranger", and his work was to present the old song of Conrad in a more modern form. This he did in 1230. There are elements in Stricker's *Karl* which are not directly French, to say the least. Probably they are of Germanic origin. The Duke Gerold appears often in the German texts, but he is never mentioned in the French texts.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Karl Meinet*.—This is a vast compilation, and includes 35,800 lines. For a long time only four fragments of the work were known. This portion was naturally called *Karl Meinet*, as the name was found in one of the fragments. But when the entire work was found, the old name was still retained. It ought really to be called *Charlemagne* or *Karl*. The work includes Conrad's *Ruolandes-Liet*.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Scandinavian Compilations.*

Haakon V (1217-1263), who destroyed paganism in Norway, wished to complete his work by substituting for the old mystic songs which filled the minds of his subjects the works of the new poetry of chivalry, which was then in great repute everywhere in the southern parts of Europe. During his reign, some of the best poems of the French *épopée* were translated. Many of these are still in MS. and have never been published, such as the Sagas of Girard and Beuve of Hanstone. But the most important of them have been united to form a consecutive history of Charlemagne, and this compilation, which is called the *Karlamagnus Saga*, is one of the most precious of the poetical histories of the great emperor.

<sup>1</sup> For the relation of Stricker's *Karl* to the *Ruolandes-Liet*, see Professor J. J. Amman's *Das Verhältniss*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For a full analysis of *Karl Meinet*, see Gaston Paris's *Hist. Poet.*, pp. 485-490.

The Icelandic translator is distinguished, and greatly to his advantage, from the compilers already referred to, Girard d'Amiens and the author of *Karl Meinet*. More especially he excels them in this, that he makes use of only the poems of the best epoch. Further, he has translated these into prose with such fidelity and simplicity that his versions may often serve for criticism of the French texts.

About fifty years after it was composed, the *Karlamagnus Saga* was submitted to a revision, and the new editor has materially altered one branch and has added another in its entirety to it.

The work is divided into ten branches.

(1) *Karlamagnus*.—This is a medley composed of divers songs and fragments of songs, and detached from their contents in a more or less arbitrary manner, and made to follow one another, so as to form the story of Charlemagne's birth and coronation.

(2) *Af Fru Olif ok Landres*.—This branch has no immediate connection with Charlemagne. For summary see Sach's *Beiträge*, pp. 3-9.

(3) *Af Oddgeiri Danska*.—Only the first branch of this poem has been translated into Icelandic.

(4) *Af Agulando Konungi*.—This is the *Chanson d'Aspremont*, but with many variants. The Icelandic editor has used as an introduction to the song the first nineteen chapters of the *Chronicle of Turpin*.

(5) *Af Guitalin Saxa*.—This is older than Bodel's *Chanson de Saisnes*.

(6) *Af Otvel*.—This is the story of Otuel as found in the Welsh version, and contains the two parts—the conversion of Otuel and the expedition against Garsi. The second part is not as full as in the Welsh version.

(7) *Af Jorsalaferd*.—This is a very exact translation of the story, as found in the French *épopée*.

(8) *Af Runzival Bardaga*.—The Icelandic translator has followed in his work a text approaching that of the Digby MS. This text is followed up to verse 2,570, almost verse for verse (Gautier's *Ch. de R.*, p. 399); Stengel, in his edition of Roland, has, among other texts, collated this with the French text.

(9) *Af Vilhjalmi Korneis*.

(10) *Um Kraptaverk ok Jartegnir*.—This is a translation of certain chapters of the xxixth book of Vincent de Beauvais.

In Denmark, the *Karlamagnus Saga* was translated, and abridged, and it became in this form and with the title, *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike* (the *Chronicle of Emperor Charlemagne*), extremely popular. It is so to-day, and is still often reprinted. The translation was for a long time attributed to Christian Pedersen, Canon of Lund. But Canon Pedersen was only an editor of a more ancient text. There is a MS. copy of the work in the Library at Stockholm, dated 1480, a date before Pedersen was born. Besides, Pedersen states at the close of the book<sup>1</sup> that the translators of the Saga were more learned in the classical languages than in the Danish language, with the result that their translation was not at all idiomatic. Moreover, they introduced many obsolete words; and numerous printer's errors disfigured the work. What Pedersen did was to correct all this, and make the story of Charlemagne and his knights a joy to the young, and the fact that the work is still read by them in Denmark is a proof how far he succeeded in his object.

This version contains the story of Bazin and Bazile (pp. 16-17), Turpin's *Chronicle*, chapters i-xiv (pp. 38-42), *Roman d'Otuel* (pp. 104-116), and *Chanson de Roland* (pp. 123-140).

<sup>1</sup> *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, pp. 148-9.

*Old English Compilations.*

The *Early English Text Society* has already published a great number of romances which cluster round the name of Charlemagne, but there are only five that bear on the Welsh text.

(1) Caxton's *Lyf of Charles the Grete*.—The full title of this work is, "*The Lyf of the noble and Crysten Prynce Charles the Grete, translated from the French by William Caxton and printed by him 1485.*"<sup>1</sup> The book survives only in the unique copy preserved in the British Museum. It is a folio containing ninety-six leaves, each page has double columns each containing thirty-nine lines. The work, as Caxton himself states, is a translation of the French prose romances of *Fierabras*, which is itself a compilation, as was shewn, partly from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, and partly of the old French metrical romance *Fierabras*.

The work contains three books. The first book (pp. 12-37) tells of the beginning of France and of the youth of Charlemagne. The second book (pp. 38-200) contains the whole of the romance of Sir Fyerabras, and his duel with Oliver. The third book (pp. 201-250) treats of the conquest of Spain by Charlemagne, of the treason of Ganelon, of the death of Roland and Oliver, and of the death of Charlemagne.

In the third book Caxton has followed Turpin faithfully, or rather Vincent de Beauvais had done so in his *Speculum Historiale*.

"As moche as toucheth the fyrst and the thyrd book I haue taken and drawen oute of a book named *Myrror Hystroyal* for the mooste parte, and the second book I haue onely reduced it out of an olde romaunce in frensshe" (Bk. III, ii, 10, p. 251). These are the words of the French

<sup>1</sup> Cf. title as given in Sachs' *Beiträge*, p. 35.

compiler, not of Caxton. Note that the French compilation appeared under the title *Fierabras* in 1478, and it was under this title that Caxton knew it, when he translated the work in 1485.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Rouland and Vernagu*.—This romance was first printed from the Auchinleck MS., for the Abbotsford Club, in 1836.<sup>2</sup> Its probable date is 1330. Ellis<sup>3</sup> has given a full summary of the romance under the title of *Roland and Ferragus*.

Analysis of *Rouland and Vernagu*.—(1) *The Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople*, vv. 1-138; (2) Turpin's *Chronicle*, vv. 139-880. The second part cannot claim credit for more than being a fair metrical translation or adaptation of Turpin's romance, which it follows up to the death of Ferragus, inserting even the names of the cities found in chapter iii of Ciampi's edition of Turpin. Its continuation is *Duke Rowlande and Sir Otuell*, though it is a slightly different metre. The metre of *Rouland and Vernagu* is:—

“The way of Sterres betokeneth y-vis  
That of Spaine and of Galis  
Thou shalt be conquerer  
Lorain and lombardye  
Gascoyne, bayoun and pikardye  
Schal be in thi pouwer  
Thus come the apostle Iames  
Thries to charls and seyd this  
That was so stoute and fer.  
Now wendeth Charls with his ost  
Into Speyne with michel bost  
As ye may forward here.”

(Stanza 16.)

(3) *The Romance of Duke Rowlande and Sir Otuell of Spayne*.—The MS. copy of this romance is in the British Museum, and its date is about the end of the fourteenth

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 60, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Sachs' *Beiträge*, pp. 27-29.

<sup>3</sup> *Early English Metrical Romances*, pp. 347-357.

century. The romance is based on *Roman d' Otuel* (Middlehill MS.), which it follows fairly well, and is closer to the Welsh text of Hergest than any other of the English romances. This is made evident if passages are compared. The following verses have the same origin as the Welsh text, p. 28 :—

“Lordynges that bene hende and Free,  
 Herkyns alle heder-wardes to mee,  
 Gif that it be your will.  
 Now lates alle your noyse be  
 And herkyns now of gamen and glee,  
 That I schall tell yow till.  
 Of doghety men I schall yow telle,  
 That were full fayre of flesche and fell.  
 And semely appon sille.”  
 (vv. 1-9.)

“Mynstrells in that lande gan duelle  
 Bot alle the sothe thay couthe noghte tell  
 Of this noble chenalye.  
 How that Cherlles with his swerde gan melle  
 Bot suche a menske hym be-fell  
 That come him sodeynly.  
 They tentede to thaire daunsynge  
 And also to thaire othir thyng  
 To make gamen and glee.  
 Burdours in to the haulle thay brynge,  
 That gayly with thaire gle gan synge  
 With wowynges of lady.”  
 (vv. 25-36.)

Referring to this romance, Ellis says<sup>1</sup> that the style of it is much more languid and feeble than that of *Otuel*, and that it resembled pretty nearly the diction of *Rouland and Vernagu*. He further remarks that it had, however, the merit of completing the story, and of furnishing a paraphrase of Turpin's *Chronicle* from the period of the death of Ferragus to the battle of Roncesvalles. From this it is evident that Ellis had under his eye a MS. which con-

<sup>1</sup> *E. E. Metrical Romances*, p. 337, note.

tained the whole story, *i.e.*, the romance he was reviewing did not end with *Otuel*, but went on to the death of Roland. This concluding part is not now available, though Ellis quotes freely from it.

From this it may be inferred that the epic history of Charlemagne, in both England and Wales, favoured a cyclic poem, which contained the following four parts:— (1) *The Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople*, according to the Latin legend; (2) The beginning of the wars in Spain, according to the early chapters of Turpin's *Chronicle*, and including the episode between Roland and Ferragus; (3) *Roman d'Otuel—Fierabras* is included in Caxton's translation, because it was so in the French original; (4) The end of the story as contained in Turpin's book.

These are the component parts of the Hengwrt MS., with the addition of the *Chanson de Roland*, and that there was a cycle of a similar kind in England is demonstrated by Ellis.

*Rouland and Vernagu* contains No. 1 and No. 2, *Duke Rowlande and Sir Otuell* contains No. 3, and Ellis's summary gives No. 4. Note, however, that the metre of *Rouland and Vernagu* does not exactly correspond with that of *Rowlande and Sir Otuell*.

(4) *The Romance of Otuel*.—This romance was first printed in 1836 for the Abbotsford Club, from the unique Auchinleck MS.<sup>1</sup> Its date is about 1330. For a full analysis of it, see Ellis's book.<sup>2</sup> This is not so much a translation as an adaptation. The author modifies, adds, or omits, at pleasure. Where there are variants, the text agrees with the *Roman d'Otuel* (Middlehill MS.) and the Welsh version; *e.g.*, the Vatican MS. says that Otuel came to Paris "à Pasques", while the Middlehill MS. more correctly says, "Co fu li jos dunt li Innocent sunt". The

<sup>1</sup> Sachs' *Beiträge*, p. 29, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 357-373.



English text agrees with the latter, "Hit wus on childermasse day" (v. 55). So does the Welsh text (p. 28), "duw gwyl vil veib".

This text mentions "Poidras" a Saracen, a name given also by the Welsh text (p. 69):

" And smot Poidras of barbarin  
That there he lay as a stiked swin."  
(*Stanza* 180.)

(5) *The Song of Roland*.—This is only a fragment of the *chanson*, from the Lansdowne MS., and its date is variously assigned—thirteenth century (G. Paris), fourteenth century (Wright, Tenbrink), fifteenth century (Dr. Schleich). The French original contains over 4,000 verses. This fragment has only 1,049. The *Chanson de Roland* was not the only source to which the author of the English *Roland* was indebted. For some traits, at least, he seems to have looked back to the *Chronicle* of Turpin; e.g., his references to the fair Saracenes, vv. 28, 29, and 73-76, concerning which nothing is said in the *chanson*.

*Spanish and Italian Compilations.*

There is nothing bearing on the Welsh text in the Spanish literature of the period.<sup>1</sup> The book entitled *Historia de Carlomagno y de los doce Pares de Francia* is only a translation into Spanish of the popular French compilation entitled *Fierabras*, or *Les conquêtes du grand roi Charlemagne*. Nor is there anything in the literature of Italy relating to the story as found in the Hergest MS., apart from an account given in *Prise de Pampelune* of the embassy of Bazin and Bazile.

The *Entrée de Spagne* and the *Prise de Pampelune* belong to the French-Italian literature of the North of Italy. Their subject matter is the conquest of Spain before the

<sup>1</sup> See G. Paris' *Hist. Poet.*, pp. 203-217; and Watts' *Spain*, pp. 31-38.

treachery of Roncesvalles. The author of the *Entrée* narrates that Archbishop Turpin appeared to him in a dream and asked him to make a metrical version of his *Chronicle*. In the beginning of his poem the author follows the narrative as found in the *Pseudo-Turpin*.

The title *Prise de Pampelune* is not particularly appropriate. The taking of Pampeluna formed only the beginning of the poem, and that part of the work is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

The *Prise de Pampelune* contains an account of the embassy and execution of Bazin and Bazile, vv. 2,458 to 2,704.

#### *The Welsh Compilations.*

There are two Welsh compilations<sup>2</sup> published, that of the *Red Book of Hergest*, entitled *The History of Charlemagne*, and that of the Hengwrt collection, entitled *The Gestes of Charlemagne*.

The *Gestes of Charlemagne* contains the version of the story as found in the Hengwrt MSS., now preserved in the Peniarth Library, and was published in 1892, with an English translation, by Canon Robert Williams, Rhydy-croesau.<sup>3</sup> It comprises the following parts:— (1) The

<sup>1</sup> For everything bearing on this subject see Thomas's *Nouvelles recherches*, etc., and Gaspar's *Italian Lit.*, pp. 110-115.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. (mostly inedited) in the Welsh language bearing on the Welsh Text are:—*Peniarth* MS. 5 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), date: second quarter of the fourteenth century—(there is a copy of this in *Mostyn* MS. 135); *Peniarth* MS. 7, date: fourteenth century; *Peniarth* MS. 8, part ii, a fragment, date: fourteenth century; *Peniarth* MS. 9, an imperfect copy, but apparently the prototype of *Peniarth* MS. 5, and of the Welsh Text; *Peniarth* MS. 10, date: late fifteenth century; *Peniarth* MS. 183, a fragment, date: 1582; *Llanstephan* MS. 148, date: 1697, a copy of the Welsh Text; *Cwrtmawr* MS. 2, written by Perys Mostyn in 1543. It follows the text of *Peniarth* MS. 5 (see *Welsh Reports*).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans has this note concerning the Hengwrt text published by the late Rev. Robert Williams, M.A., Rhydycroesau:

voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople, being a translation of the French *Chanson du voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*—chaps. i-xx; (2) Turpin's Latin *Chronicle* (chaps. i-xxi of Ciampi's edition)—chaps. xxi to middle of lv; (3) *Roman d' Otuel*—middle of chap. lv to chap. lxxix—here is found a *lacuna*; (4) *Chanson de Roland* (parts i, ii)—chap. lxxx to beginning of chap. cix; (5) Turpin's Latin *Chronicle* (chap. xxiii to the end)—chap. cix (beginning) to chap. cxvii, and chaps. cxix and cxx; (6) *Supplementa*—chaps. cxviii and cxxi.

The source of the Hengwrt MS. is the Welsh text of the *Red Book of Hergest*, as will be made manifest further on in the work. The date of the compilation is given in the book as 1336. "This book Madawc ab Selyf translated, which John the Scholar wrote. The age of the Lord Jesus Christ, who, being God, was born of the Virgin Mary, was mcccxxxvi" (1336).<sup>1</sup> This is the date, not of Madawc ap Selyf's translation, but of the compilation as found in the Hengwrt MS.

#### THE RELATION OF THE WELSH TEXT TO OTHER TEXTS.

Having briefly considered the different texts and compilations which may have some affinity with the Welsh text, either as to its form or to its matter, a position is attained from which it is possible to estimate more accurately the nature of the relationship which may exist between that text and other texts; in what respect it

—"Canon Williams's text is a composite one, and the following analysis may prove not useless to specialists. Sections i-xx = MS. 5; sections xxi-xxviii = a hopeless mixture of MSS. 8 and 5; sections xxix-xli = MS. 8; sections xlii-lxxix = MS. 5; sections lxxx-lxxxiv = MS. 10, fols. 36-38a; sections lxxxv-cxxi = MS. 5. The references are all to *Peniarth* MSS. The printed text is not reliable." (*Welsh Reports*, vol. i, p. 315.)

<sup>1</sup> *Hengwrt MSS.*, p. 517.

differs from or is similar to other texts; and what are the additions or omissions of the one as compared with the others; (a) As to *form*:—The Welsh text of the *Red Book of Hergest*, containing the *History of Charlemagne*, is a compilation made up of the following parts—(1) *Turpin's Chronicle*, (2) *The Romance of Otuel*, (3) *The Song of Roland* (Parts i and ii, 21). In this respect the Welsh text of *Hergest* is unique. Of the other compilations, some have more and some have less parts. David Aubert's *Les conquestes de Charlemagne* is on similar lines, but it was composed in 1458, many years after the Welsh text. The Icelandic *Karlamagnus Saga*, and the Danish *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, have each about ten romances welded together. The Hengwrt text has also more. It contains the *Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople*. The English compilation has less. It does not contain the *Song of Roland*.

Caxton's *Lyf of Charles the Grete*, and its French original, *La conquete qui fit le grand roi Charlemagne es espaigne*, introduce the story of Fierabras instead of Otuel.

(b) As to *matter*:—The Welsh text has no borrowed parts, but contains faithful translations of the originals.

The Welsh translation of the Latin *Chronicle* is a careful rendering of the original, and in this stands first of all the translations into other languages. With the old French MSS. 1850 and 2137, and *Cod. Gall.* 52, it omits the letter to Leoprand, the Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle. With the Latin texts of Schardius and Reuber, and the Danish *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, it omits the names of the towns and cities found in chap. iii (Ciampi's edition). No long interpolations have been introduced into the text, as in the case with the old French MSS. 124, 5714, and the edition 1835. With all the old French translations, it contains the *Supplementa*. It has a unique Latin epilogue.

The Welsh text of the *Roman d'Otuel* contains a full translation of this *chanson*, and not a summary of it as in *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, or adaptations of it as found in the old English romances. It is fuller than the version contained in *Karlamagnus Saga*. The Romance seems a faithful reproduction in prose of the song after the version contained in the Middlehill MS.

The version of the *Chanson de Roland* found in the Welsh text is unique. Its form is more primitive than that contained in the Digby MS. It contains an account of the embassy and execution of Bazin and Bazile, not found here in any other.

*The relation of the Hergest text to the Hengwrt text.*—The two Welsh versions of the life of the epic Charlemagne have many points in common; yet in some parts there are numerous variants. How account for their similarity and dissimilarity?

When the Welsh text of Hergest is studied with some attention, many things appear in it which point out clearly that it is composed of distinct prose and metrical romances which have been welded together to form one continuous story by some compiler. These parts have been so combined that the points of juncture are plainly discernible, and consequently the various parts are capable of being separated one from another.

The text of the *History of Charlemagne* bears evident traces of the stages through which it has passed, and of the process by which it assumed its present form. Three distinct elements are traceable in it, which were introduced at three different periods.

The first and original form of the Welsh text contained only the translation of the Latin *Chronicle* of the *Pseudo-Turpin*. This was the part translated by Madoc ap Selyf, somewhere about the year 1280. The text expressly states

that at the request of his patron he translated "this book from Latin into Welsh". The Latin book translated by him must be the *Chronicle*. This is the only popular Latin element belonging to the *épopée*. Madoc does not claim or profess to have translated anything from the French.

In the second form of the text is made manifest the first conscious step taken to form a compilation. For the second form includes, in addition to the romance of Turpin, the story of Roland as found in the *chansons*. The compiler adopted Madoc's translation as the framework of his composition, and instead of the twenty-second chapter of Turpin (Ciampi's edition), entitled "de prodicione Ganalon", he inserted a beautiful translation into Welsh of a more primitive version of the most ancient part of the *Chanson de Roland*, viz., part i, "La trahison de Ganelon", and Madoc's translation of the same chapter is summarized and placed at the end of the compilation.<sup>1</sup> To bring this new element introduced into harmony with the old translation of Madoc, the summary of contents given on page 27 of the Welsh text, was enlarged, and details are given which are not found in the Latin text. It is to be noted that the *Voyage to Jerusalem* is mentioned in this summary.<sup>2</sup> At this stage, then, a translation of this *chanson* formed a part of the Hergest text.<sup>3</sup>

The third step in the process was to introduce the *Romance of Otuel* into the compilation. That this romance did not form a part of the composition in its second form

<sup>1</sup> *Welsh Text*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> "Pa ffuruf y kerdwys y gaerusalem."—*Welsh Text*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> When the text was transcribed into the *Red Book of Hergest*, the Welsh translation of the *Chanson du voyage à Jerusalem* was misplaced, *The History of Charlemagne* being written on col. 381 to col. 502; while *The Voyage to Jerusalem* does not come in before col. 605 to col. 626. (See Sir John Rhys' Welsh text of the *chanson* in Dr. Koschwitz's *Sechs Bearbeitungen*, etc., pp. 1-18.)

is evident from the fact that no mention is made of it or of any incident in it, in the enlarged summary given on pp. 27, 28 of the Welsh text. It was probably introduced to bring the Welsh compilation into line with the English compilation (1330). The translator of *Roman d' Otuel* is not the translator of *Chanson de Roland*. The work of the first is much inferior to that of the second. It lacks its finish, its poetic feeling, and its felicity of diction. The translation of the *Chanson de Roland* is the best part of the work.

The Welsh text, when it came into the hands of the compiler of the *Gests of Charlemagne*, contained the following elements:—(1) The *Chronicle* of Turpin (chap. i-xxi); (2) *Roman d'Otuel*; (3) *The Voyage to Jerusalem*; (4) *Chanson de Roland*; (5) The *Chronicle* of Turpin (chap. xxiii to the end); and also the *Supplementa* as found in the old French MSS.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to a copy of the Hergest version, the compiler of the version as found in the Hengwrt collection had copies of later editions of the Latin *Chronicle* and the French *Song of Roland*. Evidently his wish was to improve on the old. For with these copies, he materially modified the old Welsh translations as found in the old version, in the direction of these later versions. The Hengwrt version cannot possibly be regarded as the original. It is a work based upon and derived from the old text of Hergest. Notwithstanding its many variants, its intimate relation with the Hergest version is very evident. Its comparatively late origin is betrayed in that it always refers to the king as Charlemagne, while the older version of Hergest generally, both in prose and metrical romances, refers to him as Charles.

<sup>1</sup> See Peniarth MS. 5. *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, vol. i, part ii.

After careful reading and comparing the two Welsh versions, the conclusions arrived at are: (1) That the Hengwrt version is based on the Hergest version; (2) That the editor or compiler of the version, as found in Hengwrt collection, had a copy of the Latin text from which he supplied what was lacking in the old translation of Madoc ap Selyf, *e.g.*, he supplied the prologue—Turpin's letter to Leoprand. The Latin *Chronicle* did not contain the *Supplementa*, hence he omitted them, with the exception of "The Seven Liberal Arts", as unauthorized; (3) That when the Welsh text of Hergest differs from the Latin text, he generally, if he can, combines the two readings, *e.g.*:—

Hergest MS.	Lat. Text.	Hengwrt MS.
"gwisgoed crynion"	"unius coloris"	"dillad durrud unlliw"
"arglwydiawl lef"	"vocem terribilem"	"aruthur lef yr arglwyd";

(4) That he failed to find a copy of the French *Roman d'Otuel*, and hence he followed the text of the *Red Book* almost to the letter; (5) That he had a copy of the Digby MS. of the *Chanson de Roland* before him, and he endeavoured to bring the old Welsh version of the story as near as possible to it. Hence, he introduced many variants with the conscious intention of assimilating it to the later French version; (6) That where the editor of the Hengwrt version departs from the Hergest text, he never improves the diction, though he often clears up the meaning.

Both the Hergest and the Hengwrt MSS. have each a long *lacuna*. The *lacuna* of the Hergest MS. occurs in the *Song of Roland*, and that of the Hengwrt MS. in the *Romance of Otuel*. Happily in this, the one supplies the need of the other.



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TRANSLATION  
OF  
YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO  
FROM THE  
Red Book of Hergest.



## HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE.<sup>1</sup>

*Red Book, Col. 381.*

### CHAPTER I.<sup>2</sup>

WHEN the apostles and disciples of the Lord were scattered to the four quarters of the world to preach, then the most glorious apostle James<sup>3</sup> is said to have been the first to preach in Galice. And after he himself had been slain by cruel Herod, then other disciples<sup>4</sup> came over the sea from Jerusalem to preach to the Galicians. And they, the Galicians, afterwards, as their sins merited,<sup>5</sup> departed from their faith and returned to their unbelief until the time of Charlemagne the emperor of Rome, France, Tiester, and other nations.

When Charlemagne had, by his might and power, conquered the four quarters of the world and divers kingdoms, namely, England, France, Almaen, Baicar, Lotarius, Burgundy, Italy, Brittany, and countless other kingdoms and cities from sea to sea, and had, by Divine power, subdued them, delivered them from the hands of the Saracens, and brought them into subjection to the Christian rule, he, being weary through oppressive labour, resolved that he would henceforth rest and not go to battle. And thereupon he saw in the heaven a pathway of stars<sup>6</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> The division into chapters is that of Ciampi's Latin Text, and is only introduced for the sake of convenience. Numbers in brackets refer to the corresponding pages of the Welsh Text.

<sup>2</sup> A prologue is found in the Latin text of Ciampi and Reuber, in Hengwrt MS., O. French trans. MSS. 5714, 124, *Karlsmagnus Saga*. It is not found in *Cod. Gall.* 52, MSS. 1850, 2137; nor in this text. This prologue contains a letter supposed to have been written by Archbishop Turpin to Leoprand, the Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle.

<sup>3</sup> "The Church of Spain boasts that St. James shared in its foundation, but its fables are in conflict with the statements of the New Testament." Herzog's *Encyc.*, vol. ii, p. 1129.

<sup>4</sup> Hengwrt MS. supplies "y duc y dysgyblon y gorff o gaerussalem dros vored hyt y galis"; so also Lat. texts, "corpore . . . per mare translato", cf. Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, *Cod. Gall.* 52. *Vide* G. Paris, *Pseudo-Turpino*, pp. 17, 18.

<sup>5</sup> "Yny gobrynei eu pechodeu"; Lat. T., "peccatis suis exigentibus"; Hengwrt MS., "o evyrellit eu pechodeu"; MS. 5714, "par lor peche et par mala auentura."

<sup>6</sup> "Fford o syr"; Lat. T., "caminum stellarum", *i.e.*, the Milky Way. *Vide* Davis, *Charlemagne*, p. 108, and Ciampi, p. 193. The "Milky Way" is called in French "le chemin de St. Jacques".

started from the sea of Frisia and extended to Almaen and Italy, and between France and Angiw,<sup>1</sup> and went on straight by Gascony, Navarre, and Spain as far as Galice, where the body of the blessed James was lying unrecognised.<sup>2</sup> And Charlemagne having seen this pathway many nights, he often thought what it might signify. And as his mind dwelt continually on this, one night a warrior appeared to him in his sleep. And fairer he was than heart could conceive or tongue express. And he spoke to him in this wise, "My son, what thinkest thou?" And Charles said, "Who art thou, Lord?" And he said, "I am James the apostle, the foster son of Christ,<sup>3</sup> the son of Zebedee, the brother of John the evangelist, whom the Lord, of His ineffable grace, chose to preach<sup>4</sup> to the people, whom cruel Herod slew with his sword, whose body lies unknown to all in Galice which the Saracens are shamefully oppressing. Wherefore I am surprised beyond measure<sup>5</sup> why thou, who hast subdued so many countries, hast not set my country free from the power of the Saracens. Wherefore I tell thee that as God has made thee the mightiest of earthly kings, so has He also chosen thee before all, to prepare my way and to set my country free from the hands of the Saracens, that He may prepare for thee a crown of eternal reward. The pathway of stars which thou sawest in the heavens, signifies thy going from this place to Galice, with a great army, to fight the faithless paynims and to set free my way and my country and to visit my church and my tomb. After thee all people, from sea to sea, will make a pilgrimage to me and seek pardon for their sins, and declare the praise of God and His might and the wonders which He

<sup>1</sup> Lat. T., "Aquitania".

<sup>2</sup> "Heb y adnabot"; Lat. T., "incognitum". Caxton renders *in loco*, "He nat knowyng the propre place".

<sup>3</sup> The translator evidently read the Latin text punctuated as follows:—"Iacobus Apostolus, Christi alumnus, filius Zebedaci, etc." (Reuber); MS. 2137, "Je sui l'apostre Jaque, norriz de Jesu"; and MS. Cod. Gall., 52, "Je sui Jaques li apostles, nouwechons de diu." So *Karlsmagnus Saga*, "Ek em Jacobus postuli fosterson Jesu Kristi."

The right punctuation probably is,—"Iacobus, Apostolus Christi alumnus, filius Zebedaci, etc." (Ciampi). So Caxton, "I am James, the appostle of Christ", etc.; MS. 5714, "Je soj, fit il, Jaques, li apostres ihu crist"; MS. 1850, "Je sui Jaques, li apostre Jesu Crist".

<sup>4</sup> Hengwrt MS., with Lat. text, supplies "ar vor Galilea".

<sup>5</sup> "Eithyr mod"; Lat. T., "ultra modum", cf. W.T., pp. 6, 74.



will perform. And from thy day until the end of the world they will come. And now, go thou thy way as quickly as thou canst, and I will be thy helper in all things. And for thy labour I will bring thee a crown in heaven. And to the last day thy name shall be praised."

In this wise, the blessed apostle appeared thrice to Charles. And having heard these things and relying on the apostolic promise, he gathered to him a great army and set out for Spain to fight the perfidious race.

## CHAPTER II.

The first city which he besieged was Pampilon,<sup>1</sup> and for three months he surrounded it and failed to take it. For the walls surrounding it were very strong. And then Charles prayed the Lord—"Lord Jesus", said he, "for Thy faith came I to these countries to fight the faithless nation; for the glory of Thy name grant me this city. O blessed James, if indeed thou didst appear to me, grant me this city." And then, by the grace of God and the prayer of James, the walls fell from their foundation. And those of the Saracens who wished to be baptized Charles spared, and those who wished not he slew. And having heard these wonders related, the Saracens submitted to Charles wherever he went; they sent tributes to meet him and surrendered to him their cities. And all their land became tributary to him. The Saracens were surprised when they saw the French people so fair and so finely clad. They threw down their arms and received them with honour.

And having visited the tomb of the Apostle James, he went as far as the sea and fixed his lance in the shallows.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Having been told at the close of the previous chapter that Charles set out to fight the paynims, it comes like a shock to read "the first city . . . besieged was Pampilon". For Pampeluna was then, as now, inhabited by Christians. "His first conquest was the Christian city of Pampeluna, in which there were no Mohammedans", Watts' *Spain*, p. 32. "Pampeluna belonged to the little Christian Kingdom of Asturias, against whom Charles must therefore have been waging war". Dr. Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, p. 146. *Ibid* Intro., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> "Hyd y mor a gossot y wayw yny veiston"; Lat. T., "ad petronum et fixit in mari lanceam"; MS. 5714, "tres quau Peiro e ficha en lamer sa lance"; MS. 124, reads "peiron" for "Peiro"; MS. 2137, "au perron et ficha sa baniere en la mer"; MS. 1850, "Jusqu, a la mer ou il fiche sa lance"; MS. *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Au peron qui siet sour la mer,

And he rendered thanks to God and to James who had brought him so far. For he could not, before that time, go.<sup>1</sup>

And the Galicians, to whom James and his disciples had preached and whom the faithless paynim people had converted, he regenerated, by the grace of baptism, through the hand of the Archbishop Turpin, namely, those of them who wished to be baptized and who had never been baptized. But those of them, however, who wished not to be baptized, he killed or they were put in bondage to the Christians. He then traversed the whole of Spain from sea to sea.

### CHAPTER III.<sup>2</sup>

Charles then took all the fortified towns and cities of Spain, some without fighting and others with very much fighting and skill. But Lukyrn itself, the strongest city in the verdant vale,<sup>3</sup> he could not take. At last he surrounded and besieged it for the space of four months. And prayer having been made to God and James, its walls fell. And from that day until now it is uninhabited. For it was covered by water in which are found black fish.<sup>4</sup>

Certain of the other cities, other kings of France and kings of Almaen before Charles conquered, and they had afterwards gone back to the law of the Saracens, until his coming. And also after his death, many kings and princes of France fought against the Saracens in Spain: Clodoveus, the first Christian king of France, Lotarius, Dagobertus, Pipinus, Carolus Martellus, who in part conquered Spain and in part left it to Charlemagne. He,

et fichu en le mer sa lanche"; Hengwrt MS. omits "hyd y mor". *Vide* G. Paris' *Pseudo-Turpino*, p. 20, on "El Pedron", Mod. "El Padron".

<sup>1</sup> "Ka ny allassie kyn no hynny uynet"; Lat. "qui [Reuber reads *quo*] tamen in antea ire non poterat"; Hengwrt MS., "lle ny allassei vrenhin a gret dyvot eiryot".

<sup>2</sup> This chapter in the Latin Text of Ciampi, and in the Old French translations, contains many names of towns and cities which are not given in the Welsh Text. They are important from a critical point of view. For the list given proves, as M. G. Paris shews (*Pseudo-Turpino*), that the writer of the early Latin MS. was a Spaniard and not a Frenchman. They are not found in the Latin Text of Reuber; he omits the whole chapter; nor are they found in *Karl. Saga* and K.K.K.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Gall.* 52, "valuert".

<sup>4</sup> Hengwrt MS. renders "pyscod mawr duon", with Lat. T.

however, in his days conquered the whole of Spain. And these are the cities which after he had conquered with oppressive toil, he cursed, and are therefore to this day without any one dwelling therein—Lucerna, Ventosa, Capara, Adama. [W.T.,  
p. 4.]

CHAPTER IV.

Every idol and image<sup>1</sup> which he then found in Spain he utterly destroyed, except the idol which was in the land of Alandalus. Its name was Mahumet.<sup>2</sup> The Saracens say that he, while yet alive, made that image in his own name,<sup>3</sup> and by magic art, drove into it a legion of devils and sealed them in it. And so strong is that idol that no one could ever break it. When a Christian approaches it, he is put in peril, and when a Saracen draws near to pray, he finds health. And if, perchance, a bird alights on it, it dies.

On the shore of the sea<sup>4</sup> is an old hollow stone, finely carved, of Saracene workmanship, set on the ground. It was wide and four-sided below, and narrower and narrower above as high as the flight of a crow in the air. And on that stone is that image made of the finest brass,<sup>5</sup> in the fashion of a man standing on his feet,<sup>6</sup> with his face towards the south, and in his right hand a huge key.<sup>7</sup> And that key, so the Saracens say, will fall out of his hand the year in which a king is born in France, who will subdue, in his time, the whole of Spain to the laws of

<sup>1</sup> It is a great mistake, though a common one, in the French literature of this period, to regard the followers of Mahomet as idolaters and polytheists. The teaching of the Koran is strongly opposed to anything of the kind.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. T., "Salamcadis"; Hengwrt MS., "enw hwnnw oed yn eu hieith wy Salamcadis sef oed hynny o sarassinec yn an yeith ni lle duw".

<sup>3</sup> Hengwrt MS., "Mahumet gwr a adolasant wy tra oed vwy yn lle duw udunt", following in this Renber's punctuation, "Mahumet, quem ipsi colunt dum adhuc viveret, in nomine suo proprio fabricavit". Ciampi, as Welsh Text, punctuates more correctly, "Mahumet, quem ipsi colunt, dum adhuc viveret in nomine proprio fabricavit".

<sup>4</sup> Hengwrt MS., "ar varyan ar lann y mor".

<sup>5</sup> "Elydyn", Caxton, "of fyn yuorye" (of fine ivory).

<sup>6</sup> For "traeth" read "traet".

<sup>7</sup> "Agoryat", Ciampi and Renber have *clavam* (club) in the text, though Ciampi says (p. 101) that *clavem* (key) was the reading in the MS. The translator of *Karlamagnus Saga* evidently read *clavam* "ok hefir i hendi klumbu milka"; O. Fr. MSS. have "clef".

Christ. And immediately<sup>1</sup> when they see the key fall from his hand, they will leave their treasures, and flee out of the country.

## CHAPTER V.

Of the gold and treasures which the kings of Spain gave Charles, he enlarged the Church of the Apostle James, and for this purpose he abode there for three years. And he appointed bishops and canons in it, according<sup>2</sup> to the rule of Isidore, Bishop<sup>3</sup> and Confessor, and he embellished it with bells and books and with all other similar furniture as was necessary.

Of the residue of the treasures of gold and silver which he had when he returned from Spain, he spent it all in building other churches, namely, the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle,<sup>4</sup> and also the Church of James there; the Church of James at Bitern; the Church of James at Toulouse, and that which is in Gascony, between the city of Aix and St. John of Sordua, on the road of Santiago; and the Church of James in Paris, between the Seine and Mount Martures. And countless monasteries did Charles build throughout the world.

## CHAPTER VI.

And when Charles had returned to France, a paynim king of Africa, Aigolant by name, came with a very great army to Spain and attacked the Christian garrison which Charles had left to guard the cities and country. When Charles heard this, he set out a second time<sup>5</sup> for Spain, with a great army, and with Milo as commander-in-chief.

## CHAPTER VII.

And what an example God showed us all then concerning those who unjustly withhold the legacy of the dead and their alms. When Charles was encamped, with his army, in the city of Baion, a knight named Romaric fell sick, and having grown weak and received Communion, he was absolved by a priest. He commanded

<sup>1</sup> "Yn y lle", cf. "yn y fan"; Lat. "mox".

<sup>2</sup> "Herwyd"; Lat. "secundum".

<sup>3</sup> Hengwrt MS., "pab oed hwnnw a chonfessor".

<sup>4</sup> W. T., "Grawndwuyr"; L. T., "Aquisgranum".

<sup>5</sup> On the question how many times Charles entered Spain, see G. Paris' *Hist. Poet.*, pp. 259, 260.

a friend of his to sell his horse and to give its price for his soul to the clerks and the poor. After he died, his friend sold the horse for a hundred shillings, and through lust of the money, he spent it on himself in food, drink, and clothes. And as Divine vengeance for evil deeds is wont to be swift, after thirty days the dead man appeared to him in his sleep and said to him:—“Inasmuch as I bequeath my goods to thee to be given for my soul and for my sins, be it known to thee that God has fully pardoned me all my sins. And inasmuch as thou didst unjustly retain my alms, thou didst retain me also for thirty days in the pains of hell. Be it known to thee that by to-morrow thou shalt be in the pains of hell from whence I came, and I shall be in Paradise.” And having said these things, the dead man departed, and the living man woke up trembling. And the following morning, as he was telling all what he had heard, and the army were discussing the matter between them, behold, all of a sudden, a loud clamour was heard in the air above his head, like the howling of wolves and lions and the bellowing of cattle, and immediately he, alive and well, in that howling, was snatched from the midst of all, by the devils. Afterwards for four days, a quest was made for him by cavalry and infantry, over mountains and through valleys, but he was not found anywhere. Twelve <sup>[W.T., p. 6.]</sup> days afterwards, as the army was marching across the wilds of Navarre and Alanar, they found his body, all torn to pieces, on the summit of a rock above the sea, three miles high,<sup>1</sup> and four days’ journey from the city whence he was taken. There the devils had thrown his corpse, and his soul they had taken to hell. And wherefore let them who withhold the alms of the dead, know that they are eternally lost.

## CHAPTER VIII.

And after that, Charles and Milo and their armies began to seek Aigolant through Spain. And after careful pursuit, they found him in a country called Desauins, on the bank of a river called Cela, on meadows the widest and best, in which place, afterwards, at the behest and by the help of Charles, a very fine church was built to the

<sup>1</sup> Hengwrt MS., “teir milltir ffrenig”—a literal translation of “tribus leugis”.

two martyrs, Facund and Primitive, and in which their bodies rest. And he founded a monastery and a very strong town in that place.

And when the hosts of Charles had approached the place, Aigolant bade Charles to fight as he listed, whether twenty men against twenty, or forty against forty, or a hundred against a hundred, or a thousand against a thousand, or one against one, or two against two. Then Charles sent a hundred knights against Aigolant's hundred, and the hundred Saracens were killed. Then Aigolant sent a hundred against a hundred, and the Saracens were killed. Then Aigolant sent two hundred against two hundred, and the Saracens were killed. And then Aigolant sent two thousand against two thousand, and of these, some were killed and some fled. The third day, Aigolant went to cast lots secretly,<sup>1</sup> whose would be the victory that day. And he commanded Charles to bring his whole army to the field<sup>2</sup> that day, if he wished. And this was agreed to on both sides.

And then, some of the Christians were preparing their arms, the night before the battle, and they fixed their lances straight up in the ground, in the meadow by the bank of the river. And the following morning they found them with branches grown on them, and having bark and roots, namely, the lances of those who were about to receive the palm of victory and martyrdom for the faith of Christ, in the first line of battle. They marvelled beyond measure at the Divine wonders<sup>3</sup> . . .

[W.T. p. 7.] and they cut them near the ground, and from the roots which they left in the ground there grew a great wood of many trees, which is still there. Many of them were ash and many of other trees, according to the nature of the

<sup>1</sup> "Y goelaw yn ysgynlawch", Lat. "Ejecit sortes secrete"; *Karl. Saga*, "leynilega" (secretly); Hengwrt MS. adds "ac yna y cauas ar y goel gorfod o hunaw ef ac oy wyr"; Lat. T., "et agnovit Cavoli detrimentum."

<sup>2</sup> "Kat ar uaes"=pitched battle.

<sup>3</sup> "Eithyr vy mod yn ryuedu awnaethant y gwyrtheu dywawl." The Welsh Text here is defective. Latin Text reads:—"Et ultra quam dici fas est admirantes [tantumque]. Dei miraculum [gratie divine adscribentes], absciderunt eas prope terram, et radices, quae remanserunt in tellure", etc. The parts in brackets are not in the W.T. *Cod. Gall.* 52, is something like the Welsh Text:—"Mout s'esmeruilleirent de si tresgrant merueille." MS. 2137 reads:—"Il s'en merveillierent mout durement, et les trenchierent pres de terre", etc.

lances. It was a wonderful thing and a very great joy, a great profit to souls, and great loss to bodies! That day, the two armies met in battle, and forty thousand Christians were killed. And Milo, the commander-in-chief, Roland's father, secured the palm of martyrdom among those whose lances flourished. And Charles' horse was killed. And then Charles with two Christians<sup>1</sup> on foot, stood in the midst of the Saracens' battle, and he unsheathed Gaudios his sword and with it slaughtered many of the Saracens. The following morning, four men<sup>2</sup> came to him from Italy to help him, having with them four thousand fighting men. And forthwith, when Aigolant saw them, he turned his back in flight, and Charles and his hosts returned to France.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER IX.

And then Aigolant joined with many Saracen nations, namely, with sixteen kings and their armies. And he came to Gascony and took the city of Agenni. And thereupon he sent peacefully to Charles commanding him to come to him with a few knights, and promising him nine horses laden with jewels, gold, and silver, provided he would submit to his sovereignty. He said that because he wished to know him that<sup>4</sup> he might kill him, if ever he met him in battle. And Charles being aware of that, came with two thousand mighty knights within four miles of the city, and there he left them in concealment with the exception of sixty knights. And with that number he came to a mountain near the city, from whence they could see it plainly. And there he left the others. And he put on him worthless garments, and leaving his lance behind and with his shield reversed on his back, as was the custom of messengers in the time of war, and with one knight, he came to the city. And forthwith some came out of the city to meet them and asked them what they sought. "We are the messengers of king Charlemagne", said they, "sent to your king, Aigolant." [W.T., p. 8.] And they were brought to the city before Aigolant. "Charlemagne", said they, "sent us to thee. For he has

<sup>1</sup> *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Charles fu a piet atout deux Crestiens". Lat. T. "duobus millibus".

<sup>2</sup> Hengwrt MS. "pedeir llong". Lat. T. "quatuor marquissii".

<sup>3</sup> The Latin Texts and Hengwrt MS. have a long "moral" here.

<sup>4</sup> "*Wrth*" = Lat. *ut*.

come as thou didst command him with only sixty knights.<sup>1</sup> And he wishes to pay thee homage and be a knight of thine, provided thou wilt give him what thou hast promised. And wherefore come thou to him with sixty knights of thine own peacefully to speak<sup>2</sup> with him.” And thereupon Aigolant donned his armour and bade them return to Charles and tell him to wait for him. Aigolant, however, did not think that he was Charles. And having known Aigolant, and having minutely examined the city in what way it would be easiest to attack it, and having seen the kings that were in it, he returned to his sixty knights, and with them he returned to the two thousand knights. And Aigolant with seven thousand knights pursued them with the intention of killing Charles. But they being aware of this, fled. After that, Charles returned to France. And having gathered together a very great army, he came to the city of Agenni. And he invested and besieged it for six months. On the seventh month, Charles put up perriers, mangonels, battering rams,<sup>3</sup> and several other engines, and castles of wood. One night, Aigolant and the kings and the noblest men went out, by stealth, through loop-holes and lavatories, and, along the river Guaron which was by the city, they escaped from Charles. The following day Charles entered the city with great triumph. And thereupon he slew many of the Saracens. Others fled along the river. Forty thousand of the Saracens were, however, killed in the city of Agenni.

## CHAPTER X.

And then Aigolant came to Ysconnas.<sup>4</sup> This city was subject to the Saracens, and he held it in possession. And Charles pursued him and bade him surrender the city. And he would not surrender it, but would come out and

<sup>1</sup> “Ar y drugeinuuet marchog”, lit. “with his sixtieth knight.”

<sup>2</sup> “Cyfrwch”. Canon Williams, following Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, translates *cyfrwch* “to meet”. In this text *cyfrwch* is the equivalent of Lat. *loqui*, as here, or of O. Fr. *parler* as on p. 34 W.T.

<sup>3</sup> “Pyrryereu”, a kind of short mortar much used for stone-shot; a “blif” was something similar; Welsh “magnel”=mangonel. These military machines were used in the Crusades. *Vide* Warton’s *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Lat. T. “Santonas”. Here follows a very long interpolation in MSS. 5714, 124, and Ed. 1835. *Vide* Intro., p. 52.



fight a pitched battle, on condition that the city be left in peace to the one who would conquer the other. And the night before the battle, some of the Christians fixed their lances ready in the ground, they being in battle array in the meadow between the castle<sup>1</sup> and the city. And the following morning they found their lances with bark and branches grown on them, namely, the lances of those who were about to receive the palm of martyrdom for the faith of Christ, in that battle. And they rejoiced at so great a Divine wonder. They cut their lances from the ground, and were the first to seek battle. And they killed many of the Saracens. And finally, they received the crown of martyrdom. And they numbered four thousand, and then was Charlemagne's horse killed. And Charles being oppressed by the power of the paynims, invoked the aid of the Almighty<sup>2</sup> and recovered his strength. And he, on foot, and his hosts slew many of them with a mighty arm. And they not being able to bear the battle fled into the city. And Charles pursued them and surrounded the city, with the exception of the part near the river. And at the close of the night, Aigolant and his hosts fled through the river. And when he was informed of this, Charles pursued them and killed two<sup>3</sup> of their kings and many of the paynims, about four thousand in number.

[W.T.,  
p. 9.]

## CHAPTER XI.

Then Aigolant fled through the gates of Sysar<sup>4</sup> and came to Pampilon. And he sent to Charles commanding him to come and fight him there. And when Charles heard that, he returned to France, and, with the greatest care, gathered together the host of France, far and wide, as thoroughly as he could. And he set free all who were in France in bondage and their heirs after them, and made them for ever free, so that no Frenchman could from that day forward be in bondage. And he gathered all with him into Spain to fight the paynim people. What prisoners he found, he released, the poor he enriched,<sup>5</sup> the naked he clothed, the malcontents he pacified, the disin-

<sup>1</sup> Hengwrt MS. supplies "Talaburgum", with Lat. T.

<sup>2</sup> Hengwrt MS. reads "Cannorthwy duw a meir".

<sup>3</sup> Latin T., "Regem Algabrie et regem Bugiae". Hengwrt MS. "Brenhin agab a brenhin bugi".

<sup>4</sup> "Byrth Sysar", Lat. "portus cisereos".

<sup>5</sup> For "nerthoyes" read "berthoges".

herited he brought back to their inheritance, the esquires who possessed arms he honourably dubbed knights, those whom he had justly separated from himself, he, prompted by the love of God, brought back to his friendship, both friends and enemies, those afar off and those near him, them the king took with him to Spain and brought in his train on that expedition. I, Archbishop Turpin, by the authority of the Lord and by mine own blessing and absolution, set them free from sins. And then having gathered together one hundred and thirty-four thousand knights mighty in battle, without counting their esquires and foot soldiers that could not easily be numbered, they set out to Spain against Aigolant.

[W. T.,  
p. 10.]

## CHAPTER XII.

These are the names of the nobles who went there with him. I Turpin, Archbishop of Rhiems, absolved the people who had been worthily instructed, of their sins, and exhorted them to fight vigorously and courageously. And often have I fought the Saracens with mine own hands and arms. Roland, the commander of the army, Earl of Cenoman, and Lord of Blaive, the nephew of Charlemagne, the son of Duke Milo of Angler by Bertha, the sister of Charlemagne, a man great in mind and great in honour, and with him four thousand armed knights. There was another Roland who is not mentioned here. Oliver, commander of the army, the bravest among knights, the son of Earl Reinyer, and with him three thousand armed knights. Estultus, the Earl of Limoegin, the son of Earl Odo, and with him three thousand armed knights. Arastagnus, the prince of Brittany, with seven thousand armed knights. Engeler, the Duke of Angyw,<sup>1</sup> with four thousand armed knights. These were all cunning and skilled in all kinds of arms, and especially in bows and arrows. And that Earldom of Engeler, after their lord and prince and their citizens had been slain in the Vale of Briars, was for a long time a waste, and never since has that Earldom had citizens.<sup>2</sup> Gaifer, King of Burdegal, with three thousand men at arms. Gandebald, King of Frigia, with seven thousand men warriors. Ernald

<sup>1</sup> Lat. "Aquitaniae".

<sup>2</sup> Hengwrt MS. "Ac ny bu un dyledawe ohonei ehun ay gwled-ychei".

of Belland, with two thousand warriors. Naaman, Duke of Baian, with ten thousand warriors. Lambert, Duke of Bituren, with two thousand warriors. Samson, Duke of Burgundy, with ten thousand warriors. Constans, Duke of Rome, with twenty thousand warriors. Garin, Duke of Lotarius, with four thousand.<sup>1</sup> The number of Charlemagne's host from his own proper land was forty thousand knights. His foot soldiers could not be numbered.<sup>1</sup> The afore-mentioned armies were composed of men of renown, <sup>(W.T., p. 11.)</sup> the mightiest battle-loving<sup>2</sup> warriors in all the world, the most powerful among the powerful, the beloved of Christ, who upheld the Christian faith in the world. For as our Lord Jesus Christ and His disciples sought the world for the Christians, so Charlemagne, King of France and Emperor of Rome, and those nobles who were with him, sought Spain to the glory of God's name. And then all the hosts were gathered together on the borders of Burdegal, and they covered that country in its length and its breadth, namely, the space of two days' journey. For twelve miles in all directions was their tumult heard. And thereupon Ernald of Belland passed first through the gates of Sysar and came to Pampilon. And after him, Earl Estult, with his host. Then came King Arastagnus and then Duke Engeler and their hosts. After them came King Gandebald and his hosts. Then Constans and Oezer with their hosts. And in the rear came Charlemagne and Roland with their hosts. And they occupied<sup>3</sup> the whole land, from the river Rime to a mountain which is three miles distance<sup>4</sup> from the city on the road to Santiago. They were eight days in passing<sup>5</sup> the gates. And Charlemagne sent to Aigolant commanding<sup>6</sup> him to surrender the city in which he had his seat, or would he come out to fight. And Aigolant, seeing that he could not hold the city against him, chose rather to fight a pitched battle than

<sup>1</sup> Query: Why is the name of Howel of Nantes omitted from the list? It is found in the Latin texts, and of him it is stated:—"de hoc canitur in cantelena usque in hodiernum diem, quia innumerabilia fecit prodigia".

<sup>2</sup> The Latin Text gives "ymladwyr", and not "ymladgar".

<sup>3</sup> "Achubassant" (from Lat. occupo), Lat. T. "co-operuerunt".

<sup>4</sup> Hengwrt MS. "ymdeith tri diwynot".

<sup>5</sup> For "y adan" read "y adaw".

<sup>6</sup> For "erchi idaw y gaer" read "erchi idaw eturyt y gaer". See W.T., p. 8, l. 31.

to be besieged<sup>1</sup> ignominiously in his city. And he then asked Charlemagne to give him time to bring his army out of the city, and to grant him his troth that he might speak with him. For he desired to see Charlemagne.

## CHAPTER XIII.

A truce having been made between them, Aigolant came out of the city with his army. And he left his army, and with 60 of his nobles<sup>2</sup> came before Charlemagne, who had left his army near the city. And the two armies were set in a plain close by, which was six miles in length and breadth, to wait their fortune. And then Charlemagne said—"Art thou Aigolant who hast treacherously taken possession of my land, the country of Spain and Gascony, which by Divine aid, I won, and brought into submission to Christian laws, and whose kings I brought under my rule? And when I returned to France, thou didst kill the [W.T., p. 12.] Christians of God, and thou didst destroy my cities and my castles and all the land, with fire and sword, of which now I greatly complain." And when Aigolant heard Charles speak the Arabic<sup>3</sup> tongue, he was pleased, and he rejoiced that he spake the same language as himself. Charles had learned the Saracen language at Twlws<sup>4</sup> when once in his youth he was there in school. Then Aigolant said to him—"Tell me, I pray thee, why dost thou invade a land which belongs not to thee by hereditary right, nor to thy father, nor thy grandfather, nor thy great-grandfather, and take it from our people?" "I will tell thee", said Charles, "because our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of heaven and earth, has chosen our people, the Christians, before all other people, and has made them rulers over all other people in the world. And as far as I could, I have converted thy people, the Saracens, to our laws." "It was most unworthy",<sup>5</sup> said Aigolant, "to subject our people to your people, seeing that our law is better than yours. We have Mahumet who was a messenger of God, and

<sup>1</sup> Lat. T. "*quam in urbe turpiter mori*"; so Hengwrt MS. "*ei varw*".

<sup>2</sup> "*Dyfod ar y drigeinuet oe bennaduryeit*"; lit. "came with his sixtieth noble".

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Vita*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Lat. T. "*Tolete*".

<sup>5</sup> "*Val*" of the Welsh Text possibly is a part of "*Valde*" of the Latin Text.

whom He sent to us, and whose commandments we keep. And we have almighty gods, who at the behest of Mahumet, make known to us future things, whom we worship and by whom we live and reign." "O Aigolant", said Charles, "thou errest there. For it is we who keep the laws of God, and you the most vain precepts of a most vain man. We believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and worship Him. You, in your idolatry, believe in the devil and worship him. Our souls, by the faith we hold, go after death to Paradise and life everlasting. Your souls proceed to hell. And wherefore it is evident that our law is better than yours. *And in as much as you know not the Creator of all things<sup>1</sup> and have no wish to know Him, you deserve no heritage, nor anything either in heaven or earth, but your portion and possession are with the devil and with your God Mahumet.*<sup>2</sup> Wherefore [W.T., p. 13.] receive baptism, thou and thy people, and live, or come and fight against me, and die." "Be it far from me", said Aigolant "to receive baptism and to renounce Mahumet, mine Almighty God. But I will fight thee and thy people on this condition, that, if our law is preferable before God to yours, we conquer; if yours be the best, that you conquer. And be it a reproach to the last day to him who is conquered, and an everlasting glory and honour to him who conquers. And furthermore, if my people are conquered, I will receive baptism, if I escape alive." And this was agreed to on both sides. And forthwith twenty Christian knights were chosen against twenty Saracen knights, and they began to fight under that condition on the field of battle.<sup>3</sup> And immediately the Saracens were killed. Then forty were sent against forty, and the Saracens were killed. Then a hundred were sent against a hundred, and the Christians fearing death went back in flight and were killed while fleeing. That signifies that he who fights for the faith of Christ ought not, for any kind of danger, to go back. As those who went back were killed, so shall the Christians die a shameful death in their sins, who [fighting against evil] go back to it.

<sup>1</sup> Hengwrt MSS. "greawdyr nef".

<sup>2</sup> Parts in italics are not found in the Latin texts of Ciampi and Reuber, nor in the oldest French MSS. *Cod. Gall.* 52 alone has something to the same effect—"et pour ce que vous ne voles croire le createur de toute creature, n'aues vous droit ne en ciel ne en terre".

<sup>3</sup> For "ymplas" read "ymaes"; Lat. T. "in campo".

But if they fight bravely, they shall overcome their enemies, namely, the devils who provoke<sup>1</sup> the sin. He shall not receive a crown,<sup>2</sup> says the apostle, who does not fight lawfully. Then two hundred were sent against two hundred, and all the Saracens were killed. And then, a truce having been made on both sides, Aigolant came to Charles to acknowledge that the Christian law was better than that of the Saracens. Then he returned to his people and told the kings and princes that he wished to be baptized. And he bade all of them to be baptized. Some of them agreed to this. Others rejected this.

## CHAPTER XIV.

[W.T.,  
p. 14.]

The following day, about terce,<sup>3</sup> a truce having been given to all to come and to go, Aigolant came to Charlemagne with the intention of being baptized. And when he saw Charles sitting at the table dining, and about him many nobles clothed in divers robes and habits, some in knightly garb, others in the habit of black monks, and others in the habit of canons, he asked Charles the estate of each one of them. "Those", said Charles, "whom thou seest clad in robes of russet-brown<sup>4</sup> are the bishops and priests of our law, who expound to us the precepts of our law and absolve us from our sins, and bestow upon us the blessing of our Lord. Those whom thou seest there habited in black are monks, and abbots also in their own proper colour, and they never cease to pray to the Divine Majesty<sup>5</sup> continually on our behalf. Those whom thou seest there in white habits are the regular canons, who follow a saintly life, and pray for us, and who sing masses and matins and hours for us."<sup>6</sup> And thereupon

<sup>1</sup> "Ennic", from "annog".

<sup>2</sup> 2 Tim. ii, 5.

<sup>3</sup> "Awr echwyd"; Lat. T. "hora tertia" (= 9 a.m.); *Cod. Gall.* 52 "vers tierce".

<sup>4</sup> "Gwisgoed crynyon"; Lat. T. (Reuber) "birris unius coloris"; cf. "dail crinion" (withered leaves); MS. 2137 "de vestimenz de brunetes"; Karl. Saga "einlit" (one colour); Ciampi reads "unius coloris"; so *Cod. Gall.* 52, "d'une coulour"; "crynyon" might be for "hirion" (long); cf. MS. 2137, "longues robes"; Hengwrt MS., as usual, combines Lat. and Welsh readings and renders—"dillat durrud un lliw" (durrud = cochddu).

<sup>5</sup> "Arglwydiawl dywolyaeth"; Lat. T. "dominicam majestatem".

<sup>6</sup> "Yn kanu . . . oryeu drossom." Cf. Dafydd ab Gwilym's ode (Claddu y bardd o gariad):—"A'r gog rhag f' enaid a gan | Ar irgoed, fel yr organ | Paderau ac oriau'n gall | A llaswyrau, llais arall."

Aigolant saw thirteen<sup>1</sup> poor men, naked and miserable, on the bare floor, without table or linen before them, and with little either to eat or drink. And he asked what kind of people those were. "They are the people of God", said Charles, "the messengers of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we feed daily, thirteen of them, according to our custom, in the name<sup>2</sup> of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Twelve Apostles." And then Aigolant replied: "Those who are about thee are happy<sup>3</sup> and have abundance<sup>4</sup> of meat and drink and clothes, for they are thine. But they whom thou sayest are the kindred of thy God,<sup>5</sup> and His messengers as thou affirmest—why do they perish of famine and nakedness and shame? Why are they cast away far from thee? and why treatest<sup>6</sup> thou them shamefully? Much dishonour does he to God who serves His servants thus. Thy law which thou saidst to be good, thou shewest to be false." And he took his leave and returned to his own army offended. And he refused baptism, and bade Charlemagne come to fight the following day. And when [W.T., p. 15.] Charlemagne understood that Aigolant had refused baptism because of the poor he saw, he finely clad all the poor he could find in the army, and fed them worthily with meat and drink.

NOTE.—And wherefore it is right to consider how great a reproach<sup>7</sup> it is to a Christian who does not faithfully serve the poor of Christ. For Charlemagne lost the Saracen king because he so vilely<sup>8</sup> treated the poor of Christ. What will be the lot of him at the day of judgment, who treated<sup>9</sup> the poor here vilely? How will they hear

<sup>1</sup> "Tri achenaw ar dec"; Lat. T. "duodecim" (Ciampi); "tredecim" (Reuber); "xii" MS. 2137 and *Cod. Gall.* 52; "xiii poures" MSS. 5714, 124, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> "Yn enw"; Lat. T. "sub numero"; old Fr. MSS. as W. T.; "en nom", MSS. 5714, 124; "el non", MS. 1850; "eu nom", *Cod. Gall.* 52; MS. 2137 has "en remembrance".

<sup>3</sup> "Drythyll"; Lat. T. "felices"; "beneüre" MSS. 2137, 1850, 5714, 124.

<sup>4</sup> "Drythyllweh a gaffant ovwyth"; Lat. T. "feliciter comedunt"; "cil qui environ toi sieent sont richement vestus et bien peu", *Cod. Gall.* 52; "I see wel that they that ben aboute the been in good poynt and wel arayed", Caxton.

<sup>5</sup> "Gystlwn dyduw"; Lat. T. "Dei tui . . esse".

<sup>6</sup> "Treythy", from "traethu". See below.

<sup>7</sup> "Cabyll"; Lat. T. "culpa"; MS. 5714 "ablasmer"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "coupe".

<sup>8</sup> "Dielwet", lit. "so profitless".

<sup>9</sup> "Traethassei", "traetho", from Lat. tracto, cf. *llaeth* for Lat. *lacte*.

the voice of the Lord<sup>1</sup> saying, "Depart from me ye accursed to everlasting fire. For I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat", and the other reproaches as well?<sup>2</sup> And be it known that the law of God, or the faith of a Christian, is of very little worth unless fulfilled in works. As the Scripture testifies which says, "As the body without the soul is dead, so faith by itself,<sup>3</sup> without good works, is dead."

## CHAPTER XV.

And then, on the following day, they came armed from both sides,<sup>4</sup> in order to fight<sup>5</sup> under the covenant of the two laws. And the army of Charlemagne numbered one hundred and thirty-four thousand knights, and the army of Aigolant one hundred thousand. The Christians formed four battalions, and the Saracens five, and the first of them which came to the battle field was forthwith vanquished. Then came the second battalion of the Saracens, and was forthwith vanquished. And as soon as the Saracens saw the loss of their men, their three battalions joined together, with Aigolant in their midst.<sup>6</sup> And when the Christians saw that, they surrounded them on all sides. From one side came Arnald de Belland with his army. From another side came Earl Estult with his army. From another side came king Arastagnus<sup>7</sup> with his army. And the princes surrounded them and the commander of the hosts<sup>8</sup> from another side. *And they blew their ivory<sup>9</sup> horns<sup>10</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> "Arglwydiawl"; Lat. T. "terribilem"; Hengwrt MS. combines the two—"aruthyr lef yr Arglwyd". MS. 124, as W. T., "la noie nostre Seigneur"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "la vois diu".

<sup>2</sup> "Ar ymliwau ereill y am hynny"; Lat. T. "et cetera".

<sup>3</sup> "Yndi ehun"; Lat. T. "in semetipsa". As quoted in the Latin text, this forms a part of St. James ii, 26. But it is not found there either in the Greek or the Vulgate. There it forms a part of the 17th verse.

<sup>4</sup> "Parth", from Lat. "partem".

<sup>5</sup> For "yr ymlad" read "er ymlad".

<sup>6</sup> "Perned", from Lat. "per media".

<sup>7</sup> Ciampi only mentions three names, Arnaldus de Berlanda, Constantinus, and Carolus. Reuber gives seven names, Arnoldus de Bellanda, Estultus Comes, Arastagnus, Galdebodus rex, Ogerius rex, Constantinus, and Carolus. These seven names are also found in *Cod. Gall.* 52, six only of them being given in MS. 2137.

<sup>8</sup> "Ar tywssaue lluoed"; Lat. T. "Carolus". As usual, Hengwrt MS. combines Welsh and Latin texts.

<sup>9</sup> "Eu kyn moruil", cf. "asgwrn moruil", W. T., p. 97; Hengwrt MS. "kynr eliffeint".

<sup>10</sup> "A chanu en kynr", cf. *Cod. Gall.* 52, "sonner cors et buisines".



and roused them speedily,<sup>1</sup> trusting in God.<sup>2</sup> Arnald charged into their midst. And he killed and smote, on the right and on the left, those he met, until he came to Aigolant, who was in the midst of his army, and he killed him with his own sword, and then was a great lamentation and clamour made by all the Saracens. And the Christians fell upon them from all parts, and killed them all. Then was there a slaughter of the Saracens that none of them escaped except the king of Seville and Altumor,<sup>3</sup> the king of Cordova. These, with a few of their troops, fled. So abundant was the blood<sup>4</sup> there that the victors could swim in it up to their necks.<sup>5</sup> And as many of the Saracens as they found in the city, they killed.

[W.T.,  
p. 16.]

NOTA.—Behold, did not Charlemagne have the victory over Aigolant because they fought under the covenant of the Christian faith? And wherefore it is evident that the Christian faith is more excellent than all the laws of the whole world. And thou, O Christian, if thou wilt hold thy faith with thine heart, and, as much as thou canst, fulfil it with thy work, undoubtedly thou shalt be exalted above the angels, with Christ thy head, in that thou art a member of Him. If thou desirest to ascend, believe firmly, because all things are possible to him that believes. Then all the hosts, rejoicing at their great victory, gathered together, and they came and encamped at Argys, on the road to Santiago.

#### CHAPTER XVI.

That night, unknown to Charlemagne, some of the Christians, coveting the spoil of the dead whom they had left lying where the battle had been, full of gold and silver, went back there. And as they were coming with their heavy loads, the king of Cordova, and with him very many Saracens who had fled from the battle and had been

<sup>1</sup> "Kyffroi yn nuan." Possibly the reading here is "kyffro i ymwan" (roused them to fight); cf. *Cod. Gall.* 52 "ferirent"; Hengwrt MS. reads "yn duhun wrawl".

<sup>2</sup> Parts in italics are not in the Lat. T.

<sup>3</sup> Lat. T. "Altumajor".

<sup>4</sup> "Kyn amlet oed y gwaet"; Lat. T. "tanta sanguinis effusio".

<sup>5</sup> "Hyt eu mynygieu"; Lat. T. "ad bases"; Heng. MS. "hyd ym bras en hesgeiryen"; MS. 5714 "jusqu' aus cheuillies"; MS. 1850 "jusqu' aus jarrez"; *Cod. Gall.* 52, rather doubtfully, "Desci as queuilles estoient el sanc li vainqueur, ce dist l' istore".

in hiding until then—fell upon them and killed them to a man. And there were about a thousand of them.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XVII.

The following day tidings came to Charles that Furre, the king of Navarre, wished to fight him. And when Charlemagne came to Mount Garsim, that prince arranged to fight against him the following day. And the night before the battle Charles prayed God to shew him which of his men would fall in that battle. The next day, when the armies had put on their arms, lo, there was a red cross on the shoulders of the Christians who were about to be slain, above their coats of mail. And when Charles saw that, he kept that number back in his oratory<sup>2</sup> lest they should be slain in the battle. O,<sup>3</sup> how difficult it is to apprehend<sup>4</sup> the judgments<sup>5</sup> of God, and to follow<sup>6</sup> His ways.<sup>7</sup> After the battle had been fought, and Furre and three thousand Saracens had been killed, Charlemagne found those whom he had shut within his oratory dead. And they were about one hundred and fifty in number. O most holy band of Christ's warriors! Though their enemies' sword did not kill them, nevertheless<sup>8</sup> they missed not the palm of victory!<sup>9</sup> Then Charles subdued Mount Garsim and the whole country of Navarre, and made them his own *for Christianity*.<sup>10</sup>

## CHAPTER XVIII.

And then tidings came to Charles that there was in Nager<sup>11</sup> a giant, Ferracut by name, who was of the race of Goliath, and had come from the borders of Syria, whom Amilad,<sup>12</sup> the King of Babylon, had sent, with twenty thousand of his people, to fight Charles. That man

<sup>1</sup> Here follows an "Allegoria" in the Lat. T. It is found in Hengwrt MS. and the old Fr. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> "Capel"; Lat. T. "oratorio".

<sup>3</sup> "Oi a duw", lit. "alack the day", *vide* W. T., p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> "Anhawd ymordiwes"; Lat. T. "incomprehensibilia".

<sup>5</sup> "Brodyeu", from "brawd", cf. "brawdle".

<sup>6</sup> "Ynganlyn"; Lat. T. "investigabiles".

<sup>7</sup> Rom. xi, 33 (Vulgate).

<sup>8</sup> "Kyn" . . . "Eissoes"; Lat. T. "etsi" . . . "tamen".

<sup>9</sup> "Palym budugolyaeth"; Lat. T. "palmam martyrii".

<sup>10</sup> "Wrth gristonogaeth", not in Lat. T.

<sup>11</sup> "Ynager"; Lat. T. "apud Nageram"; R. & V. "Naser".

<sup>12</sup> Lat. T. "Admiraldus".

feared nor lance, nor sword, nor arrow,<sup>1</sup> and he had the strength of forty strong men.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon, Charles came to Nager. And when Ferracut knew of his coming he came out of the city offering to fight one against one. And then Charles sent to him Oger of Denmark. And when the giant saw him in the field, he approached him heedlessly<sup>3</sup> and took him all armed under his right arm and carried him in the sight of all to his city, in the same way as if he were a gentle sheep.<sup>4</sup> His height was twelve<sup>5</sup> cubits, and his face a cubit broad. His nose was his own palm long.<sup>6</sup> His arms and his thighs were four cubits long, and his fingers were three palms long. Then Reginald<sup>7</sup> of the White Thorn was sent intending to fight him, and forthwith he took him into his castle to prison.<sup>8</sup> Then Constans, King of Rome, and Earl Howel,<sup>9</sup> and he took them, the one under his right arm and the other under his left arm, and carried them to his castle.<sup>10</sup> Then were sent to him two at a time up to twenty, and those also he committed<sup>11</sup> to his prison. And when Charlemagne saw that, and being amazed<sup>12</sup> at it, both he and his retinue, he dared<sup>13</sup> not thenceforth send anyone to him. However, Roland, the commander of the army, having with difficulty obtained leave of Charles, came to fight him. *And Charles was concerned about him because he was so young. And being anxious about him, he prayed the Lord to strengthen* (W.T.,  
p. 18.)

<sup>1</sup> "Saeth", from Lat. "sagetta".

<sup>2</sup> "Kynnybei namyn ar y deugeinuet owyr cadarn", lit., "provided he be only with his fortieth of strong men"; Lat. T. "vim xl fortium possidebat". R. & V. "He hadde tventi men strengte".

<sup>3</sup> "Ynysgaelus"; Lat. T. "suaviter".

<sup>4</sup> Caxton, "and made nomore a-doo to bere hym than dooth a wulf to bere a lytel lambe".

<sup>5</sup> Lat. T. "cubitis xx"; R. & V. "40 feet". "Kyuut" = cyfud, from Lat. "cubitus".

<sup>6</sup> R. & V. "His nose was a fote and more".

<sup>7</sup> "Reinallt or dreinwen"; Lat. T. "Rainaldum de albo spino".

<sup>8</sup> *Cod. Gall.* 52 adds here "Après reuint Fernagus ou camp et demanda bataille contres deus". So also MS. 2137.

<sup>9</sup> "Howel iarll"; Lat. T. "Oliverius comes" (Ciampi), "Oellus comes" (Reuber); *Cod. Gall.* 52 "et Hoüel de Nantes"; so also MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137.

<sup>10</sup> "Y gastell"; Lat. T. "carcarem".

<sup>11</sup> "Orchymynnwys"; Lat. T. "mancipavit".

<sup>12</sup> "Rynedn"; Lat. T. "admiro"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "mont s'en esmervilla".

<sup>13</sup> "Lauasswys"; Lat. T. "ausus".

his nephew with *His own might*.<sup>1</sup> And when the giant saw Roland coming to him, he snatched him with his right hand, as he did the others, and pulled him off his horse, and put him between him and the saddle-bow<sup>2</sup> on his own horse. And when he was bearing<sup>3</sup> him towards his castle, Roland, having recovered his strength,<sup>4</sup> and trusting in God, seized the giant by his throat<sup>5</sup> and turned his neck back on his horse. And they both fell to the ground off the horse. And they both at once got up and each found his horse. And immediately Roland smote the giant with Durendard, his sword, with the intention of killing him, and he cut his horse in sunder with one blow. And when Ferracut had regained his feet, and was threatening Roland with his sword, Roland dealt him a blow on the arm which held the sword. And though<sup>6</sup> the blow did no harm to the arm, nevertheless<sup>6</sup> the sword fell out of his hand. And when Ferracut had lost his sword, he sought Roland with his fist, and missing him, hit his horse in the forehead that it fell down dead. They then fought on foot, both with fist and stones. At vesper-time,<sup>7</sup> Ferracut requested truce of Roland<sup>8</sup> until the morrow. And they promised that they would both come on the morrow and fight without horses and without lances. And having made this agreement of warfare, they went to their tents. On the morrow, at the dawn of day, they came to fight on foot as they had agreed. Ferracut, however, brought with him a sword. But it availed him nought. For Roland had brought with him a long twisted club,<sup>9</sup> and with that he defended himself and belaboured

<sup>1</sup> The parts in italics are not found in the Latin text.

<sup>2</sup> "Coryf", from Lat. "corbis". See Loth, *sub voce*.

<sup>3</sup> "Arwein"; Lat. T. "portaret", cf. "yn arwein y goron ddrain" (St. John xix, 5). Vulgate "*portans coronam spineam*".

<sup>4</sup> "Galw ei nerthoed"; Lat. T. "resumptis viribus suis".

<sup>5</sup> "Herwyd y ureuant"; Lat. T. "per mentum".

<sup>6</sup> "Cyn . . . . . eissoes".

<sup>7</sup> "Pryd gosper", cf. "pryd nawn". The canonical hours were as follows:—*Plygain* or *Pylgain* = 3 to 6 a.m. *Anterth* (from Lat. "ante tertiam") = 6 to 9 a.m. *Echwyld* = 9 a.m. to 12 noon. *Nawn* (from Lat. "nona") = 12 to 3 p.m. *Gosper* (from Lat. "vespera") = 3 to 6 p.m. *Ucker* = 6 to 9 p.m. Cf. *Welsh Report*, vol. i, p. 1112.

<sup>8</sup> Lat. T. "a Rolando", although Ciampi says (p. 115) that the reading in the text is "a Carolo".

<sup>9</sup> "Trossawl", cf. W. T., p. 30; Lat. T. "baculum"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "baston".

the giant until late in the evening.<sup>1</sup> But he did him no harm. And he threw also at him the big stones which were in the field all day long.<sup>2</sup> But that also did him no harm. And the giant being tired and heavy with sleep, asked truce of Roland to sleep. And as Roland was a noble and magnanimous young man, he placed a stone under the giant's head that he might sleep more calmly. He could safely do that.<sup>3</sup> For there was an understanding<sup>4</sup> between them that a Christian who gave truce to a Saracen, or a Saracen who gave truce to a Christian, should observe it faithfully. And whosoever should break a truce with-<sup>[W.T. p. 19.]</sup>out warning would be killed. And when the giant had slept enough, he woke up, and Roland was sitting near him. And Roland asked him, what kind of strength and what kind of hardness there was in his flesh, seeing that nor lance, nor sword, nor wood, nor stone could do it any harm. "I am not vulnerable", said the giant, "save in my navel." *And when Roland heard that he turned from him as though he did not understand it.* For the giant spoke in Spanish, and Roland knew that language well. And then the giant regarded Roland and inquired of him in this wise,—*"What is thy name?"* said he. "Roland", replied he "is my name." "Of what people art thou?" said he, "seeing thou dost so mightily fight against me. *Never before have I met thine equal in prowess.*" "I am of the French people", replied Roland, *the nephew of Charlemagne.*<sup>5</sup> "Of what law", said Ferracut, "are the Franks?" "By the grace of God", replied Roland, "we are of the Christian law, and to the sovereignty of Christ we submit, and for His law, as far as we can, we strive." And when the paynim heard the name of Christ, he asked him,—*"Who is the Christ in whom thou believest?"* "The Son of God",<sup>6</sup> replied Roland, "who was born of the Virgin, who suffered on the cross and was buried in a grave, and the third day He rose from the dead and returned to the right hand of God." "We believe", said the giant, "that the Creator of heaven and earth is one God, and that He had neither son nor father, that is to

<sup>1</sup> For "educher" read "hyd ucher"; Lat. T. "tota die". For "ucher", see p. 104, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> "Yn hyt y dyd"; Lat. T. "usque ad meridiem".

<sup>3</sup> See Scott's *Talisman*, chapter ii.

<sup>4</sup> "Amot a oed y rydunt"; Lat. T. "inter eos institutio".

<sup>5</sup> *Cod. Gall.* 52, p. 42. Parts in italics are not in Latin text.

<sup>6</sup> "Filius Dei Patris." "Patris" omitted in W. T.

say, that as He is begotten of none so has He begotten none. And wherefore He is one God and not three." "Thou sayest truly", said Roland, "that He is one God. But when thou sayest that He is not three, thou haltest in thy faith.<sup>1</sup> If thou dost believe in the Father, believe also in His Son and in the Holy Ghost. For He is God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—one God, three<sup>2</sup> persons." "If", said Ferracut, "thou sayest that the Father is God, and the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, they are three Gods, which is not true, and not one God." "Not so", said Roland, "but I maintain<sup>3</sup> that He is one God and three, both one and three. The three persons are co-eternal and co-equal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.<sup>4</sup> In the persons there are properties, and in the divinity<sup>5</sup> there is unity, and in power<sup>6</sup> there is similarity. One God in Trinity do the angels in heaven adore. And Abraham saw three and he worshipped one." "Shew me this", said the giant, "how are the three one?" "I will shew", said Roland, "by earthly things.<sup>7</sup> As there are three things in the harp when played, namely, art, strings, and hand, and yet it is but one harp, so there are three persons in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and yet He is but one God. And as there are three things in the almond,<sup>8</sup> namely, the outward shell, the rind, and the kernel, and yet the almond is but one, in like manner there are three persons in one God. There are three things in the sun. It is white, bright, and hot. And yet it is but one sun. There are three things in the wheel of a cart, namely, nave, spokes, and tire. And yet it is but one wheel. There are in thyself three things, body, members, and soul. And yet thou art but one man. In like manner is God one and yet three." "I understand now", said Ferracut, "that God is one and is three. I know not, however, how the Father begat a Son, as thou

[W.T.,  
p. 20.]

<sup>1</sup> "Cloffi", Lat. T. "claudio".

<sup>2</sup> "Teir", the adjective takes the gender of the Lat. "persona".

<sup>3</sup> "Pregethaf"; Lat. T. "praedico".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Athanasian Creed.

<sup>5</sup> "Dwywolyaeth"; Lat. T. "essentia".

<sup>6</sup> "Medyant", cf. S. John x, 18. "Y mae gennyf *feddiant* i'w dodi hi i lawr, ac y mae gennyf *feddiant* i'w chymmeryd hi drachefn." Vulgate "potestatem"; Lat. T. "in majestate adoratur aequalitas".

<sup>7</sup> "Creaduryeit dayrawl"; Lat. T. "per humanas creaturas".

<sup>8</sup> "Amand-lys"; Lat. T. "amygdala"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "une amande".

sayest.” “Dost thou believe that God created Adam?” said Roland. “I do believe”, said the giant. “As Adam was born of none”, said Roland, “and yet sons were born to him, so God the Father was born of none, and yet a Son was born to Him, Divine, according to His will, before all times, in an ineffable manner.” “Thou sayest well”, said the giant, “but I know not at all how He who was God became man.” “He who made heaven and earth”, said Roland, “and who made all things out of nothing, made His Son to be man, without human substance, but by His Holy Spirit.” “There I am in difficulty”, said the giant, “How was a Son born of a virgin, without human intervention, as thy sayest?” “God”, said Roland, “who formed Adam without human intervention, made His own Son to be born of a virgin without human intervention. And as Adam was born of God the Father, without a mother, so was His own Son born of a mother, without having a human father. For such a birth became God.” “I am very much amazed”,<sup>1</sup> said the giant, “how He was born of a virgin, without human intervention.” “He”, said Roland, “who makes a weevil grow<sup>2</sup> in a bean, and a <sup>[W.T.,  
p 21.]</sup> worm in a tree, and many fishes, and birds, and bees, and vipers, without male intervention, He also made the pure Virgin<sup>3</sup> give birth to God and man without human intervention. For He who easily made the first man, as I said, without any human intervention, could also easily cause His Son to be born of the Virgin, without human intervention.” “It is possible”, said the giant, “that He was born of the Virgin, and yet if He was the Son of God, as thou sayest, He could in no way die. For God can never die.” “Thou sayest well that He could be born of the Virgin”, said Roland, “and in that He was born as a man, so He died as a man. For all who are born shall die. And since His birth is credible, credible is His death or His passion, and then His resurrection from the dead.” “How can His resurrection be believed?” said the giant. “Because all who are born shall die”, said Roland, “and He who died rose again the third day.” And the giant, when he heard these words, was very much surprised, and he

<sup>1</sup> “Diruawr gewilyd yw gennyf vi”; Lat. T. “valde erubesco”; *Cod. Gall.* 52 “m’ esmerneil”.

<sup>2</sup> “Awna tyuu”; Lat. T. “facit gignere”.

<sup>3</sup> “Uorwyn wryu”; Lat. T. “virgo intacta”.

replied to him in this wise—"Roland", said he, "most vain are the words thou hast declared to me. It is impossible ever to raise a man from the dead." "Not the Son of God alone", said Roland, "rose alive from the dead, but all that ever were of men from the beginning of the world and that shall be unto its end, shall rise up before His throne to receive the recompense of the deeds done by each, whether they be evil or good. God", said Roland, "who makes the sapling grow on high, and makes the grain of corn, after it has decayed and died in the earth, grow, and fructify, and revive, He will also raise, at the last day, all the dead to life. Consider thou the nature of the lion. For the lion will, with his roaring, revive his whelps, the third day, if they are still-born. What wonder is it then that God the Father raised His own Son from the dead the third day. And it ought not to be a wonderful thing to thee that the Son of God rose from the dead, in that many dead rose before Him. For if Elias and Eliseus made the dead alive, it was easy for God the Father to raise Him. And He who raised many from the dead before His passion, easily rose Himself from the dead. And death could not withhold<sup>1</sup> Him from whom death flees, and at whose voice the multitude<sup>2</sup> of the dead shall rise." "I see well what thou sayest", said the giant, "but I do not understand how He ascended<sup>3</sup> into heaven." "He", said Roland, "who descended easily from heaven, ascended easily into heaven. He who arose through Himself, ascended easily into heaven. Take examples<sup>4</sup> of many things. The lowest part of a mill-wheel now will be the highest part presently. A bird in the air will descend as far as he will ascend. And if thou descendest from an high elevation thou canst return back from whence thou didst descend. Yesterday the sun rose in the East and set in the West. To-day it arose from whence it came yesterday. So from heaven, whence the Son of God came, there He returned again." "Therefore", said the giant, "I will fight with thee on this condition, that, if thy faith be true, I be vanquished; and if false, thou be vanquished. And be it an everlasting

[W.T.,  
p. 22.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "teneri illum ab eo", Acts ii, 24 (Vulgate).

<sup>2</sup> "Twryf"; Lat. T. "phalanx".

<sup>3</sup> Read "yd ysgynnwys".

<sup>4</sup> "Agreift." *Vide* Loth, *sub voce*.



reproach to the people of him who is vanquished, and to the victor be everlasting glory and honour." "Be it so," said Roland. And that condition was confirmed on both sides. And Roland forthwith attacked the paynim, and he aimed a blow at Roland with his sword. But Roland sprang to his left and received the sword on his club. And when Roland's club was broken, the giant attacked him, seized him, and immediately smote him down under him on the ground. Then Roland perceived that there was no way of escape for him. He began to implore the aid of the Son of the Virgin Mary.<sup>1</sup> And thereupon he slid, little by little, from under him until he was above him. And he put his hand to his sword and stabbed him in the navel and fled from him. And with a very loud voice he called upon his God, in this wise—"Mahumet, Mahumet, my God, help me, for I am now dying." And at that cry the Saracens came and snatched<sup>2</sup> him to the castle. And Roland returned whole to his own people. And immediately they attacked the city and the Saracens who were carrying the giant's body. And having thus killed the giant, they took the city and the castle, and the men were released from their prison.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Shortly afterwards tidings came to the Emperor<sup>3</sup> that Ebrahim,<sup>4</sup> king of Cordova, and king of Seville and Altumor, who had formerly fled from Pampilon, were waiting in ambush with the intention<sup>5</sup> of fighting with him. And they had with them the armies of seven cities.<sup>6</sup> And Charlemagne decreed to go and fight against them. And when he came to Cordova with his host, the above named kings, with their hosts in arms, came three miles out of the city. And the army of the Saracens numbered about ten thousand, and there were about six thousand Christians. And then Charlemagne formed three battalions, the first battalion of the most approved knights, the second of infantry, and the third of knights. And the Saracens did

<sup>1</sup> "Beatae" of the Lat. T. is translated in the Hengwrt MS.

<sup>2</sup> "Ysglyfyeit"; Lat. T. "rapuerunt".

<sup>3</sup> "Amherawdyr", from Lat. "imperator"—used here for the first time.

<sup>4</sup> Lat. T. "apud Cordubam Ebrachim rex Sibiliae, et Altumajor".

<sup>5</sup> "Ar odeuaw" from "goddauo".

<sup>6</sup> The names of the cities are given in the Latin text as follows:—Granada, Santa, Denia, Ubeda, Albula, Baetia.

likewise. And when the first battalion, at the command of Charlemagne, advanced towards the Saracens, there came in front of each of their knights a foot-soldier having a mask,<sup>1</sup> bearded and horned, like unto devils, and having each a harp,<sup>2</sup> upon which they played. And when the horses of the Christians heard those voices and saw their terrible masks, they were so terrified that their riders could not hold them back. And when the two other battalions of the Christians saw the strongest battalion in flight, they also fell back. *And when Charles saw that, he was surprised beyond measure,<sup>3</sup> until he knew the cause of it.<sup>4</sup>* And the Saracens rejoiced, and pursued them very slowly,<sup>5</sup> until the Christians came to a mountain, which was about two miles from the city. And there the Christians with one accord rallied together<sup>6</sup> to wait them for battle. And when they saw that, they went back a short distance. And there the Christians pitched their tents until the morrow. And when the morning<sup>7</sup> came, and counsel had been taken, Charles commanded all who had horses to cover their heads with linen and cloth to screen their eyes lest they see those devilish masks, and to stop their ears lest they hear their infernal voices. A wonderful contrivance! Having protected<sup>8</sup> the eyes and ears of their horses, forthwith they boldly charged them, caring nought for their treacherous<sup>9</sup> cries. And from morn till noon they overcame the Saracens, and killed many of them. They did, not how-

[W.T.,  
p. 24.]

<sup>1</sup> "Gwasgawt", lit. "a shadow"; Lat. T. "larva".

<sup>2</sup> "Telyn"; Lat. T. "timpanos"; Hengwrt MS. as usual combines the two, "telynau a timpaneu"; MS. 1850 "timbres"; MS. 2137 "tabours et timbres"; Caxton "in hys honde a lytel belle". So MSS. 5,714 and 124 "campanes", Ed. 1835 "clochettes".

<sup>3</sup> "Eithyr mod." See W. T., p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Words in italics are not in the Lat. T., cf. *Cod. Gall.* 52, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> "Eu hymlit yn erhwyr"; Lat. T. "retro lento gradu insequenti"; "erhwyr", from "er"=intensive particle, cf. Zeuss, p. 895, and *hwyr*=slow, cf. "milgi hwyr". See also Dafydd ap Gwilym's ode (yr haf), "ac awyr *erwyr* araf". On p. 106 of W. T. "retro lento gradu" is translated "yn llibin"; Hengwrt MS. "ac yn *herwyr* y doeth y cristonogyon y vynydd", which Canon Williams renders, "and the Christian fugitives came to a mountain". *Cod. Gall.* 52 "les siurent mout lie le petit pas".

<sup>6</sup> "O gytduundeb y klymawd y cristonyon"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "s' aünerent"; MS. 1850 "Si pristrent conseil ensemble".

<sup>7</sup> "A phan dy vu y bore"; Lat. T. "mane facto".

<sup>8</sup> "Gwarchae"; Lat. T. "claudis".

<sup>9</sup> "Bredychus"; Lat. T. "subdolos".

ever, kill all. And the Saracens crowded together, and in their midst<sup>1</sup> was a waggon<sup>2</sup> drawn by eight oxen. And on the waggon was their standard raised. And their custom was such that none of them took to flight as long as they saw the standard up. And when Charles knew that, he, being encompassed by Divine power,<sup>3</sup> rushed among the arrayed forces and smote them on the right and on the left until he came to the waggon. And he then with his sword struck down the staff<sup>4</sup> which held the standard, and brought down also the standard itself. And then the Saracens began to flee, dispersing here and there. And then the hosts on all sides raised a shout, and eight thousand of the Saracens were slain, and among them Ebrahim, king of Seville. Altumor, with two thousand men, made for the city. And on the morrow, he having been conquered, surrendered the city to the Emperor, on condition that he receive baptism, submit to Charlemagne, and hold the city under him.

Then Charlemagne divided the *hundreds of Spain, its commots, its towns, and its cities*,<sup>5</sup> among those of his own men who wished to dwell there. And the whole of Spain he thus divided among his own men. But none of the Franks desired the land of Galice because of its roughness.<sup>6</sup> Henceforth, in those days no one could molest Charlemagne in Spain.

#### CHAPTER XX.

And then having dismissed the greatest part of his army and leaving them in Spain, Charles went to Santiago. And those he found dwelling there he made Christians,<sup>7</sup> and those who had relapsed to the Saracen law he either killed or sent as exiles into France. And he then appointed bishops and priests. And he honoured<sup>8</sup> and summoned a council in the city of Compostella, of princes and bishops. And then by the advice of the council, he

<sup>1</sup> "Kenawl", from Lat. "canālis".

<sup>2</sup> "Venn"; Lat. T. "plaustrum".

<sup>3</sup> "Damgylchynmedic"; Lat. T. "obumbratus".

<sup>4</sup> "Y beiriant"; Lat. T. "peticam"; cf. Eng. "perch".

<sup>5</sup> Parts in italics not in the Latin texts.

<sup>6</sup> "Drysswech"; Lat. T. "aspera".

<sup>7</sup> The Latin texts and all the MSS. read here, "and those Christians he found dwelling there he honoured".

<sup>8</sup> "Ac anrhydedu" seems to belong to the previous sentence. It has no meaning here, and is not found here in any other text.

[W. T.,  
p. 25.]

ordained, to the honour of Santiago, that all prelates and Christian kings and princes of Spain and Galice, both present and future, should obey the bishop of Santiago. At Iria, he appointed no bishop, but that it should be under Compostella. And then, at the command of Charlemagne, I Turpin, the Archbishop, and having with me nine<sup>1</sup> bishops, dedicated, with great solemnity, the church and altar of Santiago, on the Kalends of June.<sup>2</sup> And the King put the whole of Spain and Galice in subjection to that Church. And he gave as its portion,<sup>3</sup> four pence annually as tribute from every house in Spain and Galice, and granted to themselves freedom from all servitude.<sup>4</sup> And that day it was resolved to call that Church an Apostolic See, in that the name of the Apostle James rested there;<sup>5</sup> that the chapter meetings of the bishops of that country should be held in it; and that it should be the privilege of the bishop of that place to ordain<sup>6</sup> the bishops of the country and its kings. And if Christianity or the Ten Commandments<sup>7</sup> should fail, through the sins of the people, in any of the other cities, they should be restored under the direction of that bishop, and there also should they rightly<sup>8</sup> be set straight. For as the Christian faith was established in the East at Ephesus, through the Apostle John, the brother of James, so was there established in the West, in Galice, a seat for the Christian faith, and an Apostolic See. And no doubt those are the two seats which the two apostles begged of Christ, that they should sit the one on His right and the other on His left, in His Kingdom. There are three supreme Apostolic Sees established in the world which are justly above all others, namely, Rome, Galice, and India.<sup>9</sup> For as God gave the pre-eminence in His fellowship and His secrets to Peter, James, and John above the other apostles, as is evident from the scripture and the gospels, so God shewed

<sup>1</sup> "Naw"; Lat. T. "lx", not "ix". But *Cod. Gall.* 52 reads "ix evesques".

<sup>2</sup> "*Hanner* meheuin", cf. W. T., p. 101 (top); Lat. T. "*Kalendis junii*".

<sup>3</sup> "*Arodes yny hargyfreu*"; Lat. T. "*dedit ei in dotem*".

<sup>4</sup> Lat. T. "*et qui dabat ab omni servitute . . . liber erat*".

<sup>5</sup> Lat. T. "*eo quod ibi apostolus Iacobus requiescit*".

<sup>6</sup> "Urdaw", from Lat. "*ordo*".

<sup>7</sup> "Y degeir dedyf"; Lat. T. "*dominica praecepta*".

<sup>8</sup> "O iawn dylyet"; Lat. T. "*merito*".

<sup>9</sup> Lat. T. "*Ephesianam*".

them that pre-eminence in this world also, in the above three principal Sees. And rightly<sup>1</sup> is Rome regarded as the most pre-eminent of the Apostolic Sees. For Peter, the prince of the apostles, consecrated it by his preaching, by his own blood, and by his burial. Compostella is justly the second See in pre-eminence. For, after the Apostle Peter, the Apostle James was the most pre-eminent among the apostles, most worthily pre-eminent, and the greatest in honour, age,<sup>2</sup> and integrity.<sup>3</sup> And in heaven he has the pre-eminence over them. He was the first to be martyred. He at another time<sup>4</sup> confirmed<sup>5</sup> it by his preaching, and consecrated it by the burial of his hallowed body. And he makes it famous<sup>6</sup> by his miracles, and enriches it with unfailing gifts. The third See is that of India.<sup>7</sup> For there the Apostle John preached his own gospel. And with the consent of the bishops whom he had himself appointed in the cities, and whom he calls angels in his book,<sup>8</sup> he consecrated that church by his learning, by his miracles, and by his own burial. And if it should happen that questions<sup>9</sup> pertaining either to the world or to the Church<sup>10</sup> could not be decided in the other Sees throughout the world, because they were either intricate or doubtful, they should be discussed and decided lawfully in those three principal Sees. Therefore, Galice having been from the earliest<sup>11</sup> times set free from the Saracens, by the power of God and of the blessed James, and by the aid of Charlemagne, continues faithfully in the Catholic<sup>12</sup> faith unto this day.

[W.T.,  
p. 26.]

<sup>1</sup> "O iawn dylyet"; Lat. T. "jure".

<sup>2</sup> "Hynafyaeth"; not in Lat. T.

<sup>3</sup> "Aduwynder"; Lat. T. "honestate".

<sup>4</sup> "Weith arall"; Lat. T. "olim"; gweith = quondam; Zeuss, p. 617.

<sup>5</sup> "Cadarnhawys"; Lat. T. "munivit".

<sup>6</sup> "Olenhau"; Lat. T. "illustrat".

<sup>7</sup> Lat. T. "Ephesus".

<sup>8</sup> "Yny lyuyr"; Lat. T. "in apocalypsi sua".

<sup>9</sup> "Damweinyeu"; Hengwrt MS. "damweinyeu pedrus"; Lat. T. "aliqua judicia".

<sup>10</sup> "Ae o blegyt byt ae oblegyt eglwys"; Lat. T. "aut divina aut humana".

<sup>11</sup> "Dechreu amseroed"; Lat. T. "in primis temporibus"; MS. 5714 "en premier temps"; MS. 124 "on primer tens". This supposes that some considerable time had elapsed between the liberation of Galice and the writing of the Chronicle.

<sup>12</sup> "Catholica", Ciampi; "orthodoxa", Reuber.

CHAPTER XXI.<sup>1</sup>

Charlemagne was a man of fair complexion, graceful in person, and ruddy of face. His hair was auburn,<sup>2</sup> and his visage gentle, and not unkind.<sup>3</sup> His height was eight feet, after the measure of his own feet, which were very long. His loins were broad, and his waist was well proportioned.<sup>4</sup> His arms and legs were stout and all his members strong. He was the wisest and cleverest in battle, the most valiant of knights.<sup>5</sup> His face was a palm and a half long, and his beard<sup>6</sup> a palm long, and his nose half a palm long. A foot was the width of his forehead. He had the eyes of a lion, sparkling like a carbuncle stone. Each eyebrow was half a palm long. He who regarded him when he was angry, was filled with fear and dismay. Eight palms long was the circumference<sup>7</sup> of his girdle about him, without reckoning what was over and above.<sup>8</sup> Very little bread did he eat, and a joint<sup>9</sup> of mutton, or couple of fowls, or a goose, or a shoulder of pork, or a peacock, or a crane, or a whole hare.<sup>10</sup> He was so strong that he could with one blow of a sword smite a knight, in full armour and his horse fully equipped, from the crown of his head to the ground. He could easily stretch four horse shoes at once

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is not found in MSS. 5714, 124, 2137. It is found in the Latin texts, MS. 1850, Ed. 1835 (in the last chapter), and *Cod. Gall.* 52. Caxton omits it as part of Turpin in Book III, but brings it in as part of Book I. (Caxton's *Lyf of Charles the Grete*, p. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> "Gwallt gwineu"; Lat. T. "brunns"; R. & V., v. 434, "Blac of here and rede of face". *Cod. Gal.* 52 "noir de cheuens".

<sup>3</sup> "Golwc araf digreulawn"; Lat. T. "visu efferus"; Caxton's *Lyf*, "hys syght and regarde fyers and malycyous"; Hengwrt MS. "ac arnthyr y olwc"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "cruens de regart". The true reading here might have been "golwg arw dygreulawn".

<sup>4</sup> "Aduain oed am y arch"; Lat. T. "ventre congruo".

<sup>5</sup> For this chapter cf. Eginhard's *Vita Caroli Magni*, chapter xxii, p. 9, Reuber's edition, A.D. 1584.

<sup>6</sup> Eginhard, who fully describes the physical appearance of Charles, makes no mention of his beard, though he mentions his eyes, nose, voice, etc. Apparently he did not see anything worthy of notice in his beard.

<sup>7</sup> "Cirraed" = "cyrraedd" or "cyrredd"; Lat. T. "cingulum"; Hengwrt MS. "arraed".

<sup>8</sup> "Heb a vei odieithyr"; Lat. T., Reuber, "praeter id quod dependebat"; Ciampi, "praeter corrigias quae pendebant"; *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Saus ce qui pendoit dehors le boucle".

<sup>9</sup> "Aelawt"; Lat. T. "quartam".

<sup>10</sup> W. T. omits "parum vinum, sed limphatum sobrie bibebat".

between his hands. He could without any trouble raise level with his face an armed knight standing on his hand. He was most liberal<sup>1</sup> in his gifts, most just in his laws,<sup>2</sup> and most trustworthy<sup>3</sup> in his words.

On the four principal feasts of the year he held a court in Spain, and wore the crown of his kingdom on his head, and his sceptre in his hand, namely, on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Whit Sunday, and the feast of James the apostle. Before his throne, in accordance with imperial custom, a naked sword was continually held. Around his bed each night six score armed men<sup>5</sup> were always placed to guard him. Forty of them took the first watch of the night, ten at his head, ten at his feet, ten on his right, and ten on his left, and in the right hand of each a naked sword, and in his left a wax taper burning.<sup>6</sup> And in like manner did forty other armed knights during the second watch<sup>7</sup> of the night, and the other forty armed knights likewise, during the third watch of the night, guarding him until the day and whilst the others were sleeping.

And if any one delights to hear of his great deeds, it is to us a great and heavy task to narrate them as Galafzus<sup>8</sup> nobly does, and how afterwards Charlemagne, for love of that Galafzus, slew his enemy, namely, Bravant, the great and proud<sup>9</sup> king of the Saracens; and then how he conquered divers kingdoms, towns, castles, and cities, and brought them into subjection as Christians, in the name of the Trinity; how he founded many churches and monasteries throughout the world; how he arranged many bodies and bones of the saints throughout the world and set them in

<sup>1</sup> See Ciampi, p. 120; Caxton's *Lyf*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> "Kyfreithen"; Lat. T. "judiciis".

<sup>3</sup> "Geirwir"; Lat. T. "luculentus"; Hengwrt MS. "goerhwyr". On this vide *Histoire Poétique*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> July 25th.

<sup>5</sup> Lat. T. "cxx fortes orthodoxi".

<sup>6</sup> "And eueri dughiti knight | held a torche light | and a naked fauchoun".—R. & V., vv. 455-57.

<sup>7</sup> Eil trayan", lit. "the second third-part", cf. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans' *Bruts*, p. 50; "mi arodaf ywch drayan ygkyuoeth" (*tertiam regni mei partem vobis concedo*. Geoffrey's *Historia*, Lib. i, cap. xi).

<sup>8</sup> Latin T. "quemadmodum Galafzus, Almiraldus Tolletae illum in pueritia exulatum adhornavit habitu militari in palatio Tolletae". All this is placed in the first chapter in *Cod. Gall.* 52.

<sup>9</sup> "Syberw", from Lat. "superbus".

gold and silver; how he obtained the Empire of Rome; how he went to Jerusalem;<sup>1</sup> and how he brought with him from thence the cross of the Lord<sup>2</sup> with which he enriched<sup>3</sup> many churches, we can neither write nor narrate. However, it is the hand and pen that fail rather than his grand exploits. *How, however, he returned from the battle of Roncesvalles to France; how the battle took place in the Vale of Briars;<sup>4</sup> how an end was made of the knights in Spain; how the sun stood once for the space of three days, to avenge the Christians on the Saracens; how he made obsequies for his nobles; how he buried them; how a council was held at St. Denis when they returned; how he built his own court and the church of Lady Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle,<sup>5</sup> and how Charlemagne died there,<sup>6</sup> we will briefly narrate at the end of this book.<sup>7</sup>*

[W.T.,  
p. 23.]

And this book Madoc ap Selyf translated from Latin into Welsh at the request and desire of Griffith ap Meredith ap Owen ap Griffith ap Rhys.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Y kerdwys y gaerusalem"; Lat. T. "dominicum sepulcrum adiit", *Chanson du voyage à Jerusalem*. This is one of the oldest traditions concerning Charles. It is found in the Chronicle of Benoit (968), vide *Hist. Poet.*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh tradition says that Diboen brought the Cross from the Holy Land. "Diboen ferch Coel Codebog | I gred a gafas y grog".

<sup>3</sup> In the E. E. romance, "The Sowdone", we are told that Charles distributed the sacred relics as follows:—

"At our lady of Parys | He offred the Crosse so fre  
The crowne he offred at Seynte Denyse | At Bologne the  
nayles thre."

<sup>4</sup> "Glynn mieri" is of course a literal translation of Roncevalles or Runcivallis.

<sup>5</sup> "Grawndynyr" = "Aquisgranum".

<sup>6</sup> The parts in italics are not found in the Latin texts. There it is simply said: "Quemadmodum tamen per deliberationem telluris Galletiae ab Hispania rediit ad Galliam, nobis breviter dicendum est." Note that there is no reference here to any episode of the Roman d'Otuel. That evidently did not form a part of the book as originally conceived.

<sup>7</sup> Turpin's *Chronicle*, chap. xxii, is not found in the Welsh text, its place being taken by:—1, *Roman d'Otuel*, pp. 28 to 74 of Welsh text; 2, *Chanson de Roland*, pt. i, pp. 74 to 96 of the Welsh text. There is, however, a summary of the contents of this chapter on the last page (p. 111) of the Welsh text of Hergest. Turpin's *Chronicle*, at chapter xxiii, is resumed at the middle of page 96 of the Welsh text, and is followed then to the end.

<sup>8</sup> Vide *Intro.*, p. 34, for Madoc ap Selyf and his patron.



“ROMAN D’OTUEL.”

A.—THE CONVERSION OF OTUEL.

*Prologue.*<sup>1</sup>

Whosoever desires to know or hear a valiant story,<sup>2</sup> let him, with a quiet mind, listen, and we will tell him the flower of the gests, namely, the story of the valiant Charles, the son of Pepin the old king of France, the noblest and mightiest emperor and the most illustrious conqueror of the countries of the paynims and of the enemies of Christ, that ever was in Rome; and of the Twelve Peers<sup>3</sup> of France, who loved each other so much that they were never separated until they were slain, when Gwenwlyd betrayed them to the faithless race of the paynims. Through him twenty thousand and seven hundred were killed the same day. For which cause Charles to his dying day felt exceeding sad and sorrowful. This story is finer and more excellent, for it is not found among bards and jesters who have all ceased from celebrating him because they know naught of him. They only sing the adventures and exploits of those they know, or draw upon their imagination. Naught, however, know they of the sudden loss that came to Charles the Emperor.

*Charles and his Court in Paris.*

When Charles, the king of France, on Holy Innocents’ Day,<sup>4</sup> was in the city called Paris, having observed there with unwonted splendour the Christmas festivities, and with him were the twelve peers of France, and earls, barons and knights without number, and all

<sup>1</sup> The division of *Roman d’Otuel* into chapters is the translator’s own.

<sup>2</sup> “Chwedyl grymus”; Fr. T. “chançon de biau semblant”.

<sup>3</sup> “Gogyfurd”, lit. “equal in rank or order”.

<sup>4</sup> “Duw gwyl vil meib”, *vide* Old Welsh Calendars in *Welsh Reports*, vol. i, p. 17, etc.; “Aeth Mair vorwyn ai mab bychan o tre vedylem . . . rac erodr, ac yna y peris yr erodr greulon ladd i vil veibion a oed ii vylwyd hyd i geni” (*Welsh Reports*, vol. ii, p. 573); Vatican MS. reads: “Ce fu à Pasques”; Middlehill MS. has: “Co fu le jor dunt li Innocent sunt”. The reference to Christmas seems to fix the day as that of the Holy Innocents, which is observed on Dec. 28th; so E. Otu., stanza 6, “Childermasse day”.

entertained the king and his company as best they could, they decided to hold a court.<sup>1</sup> And there they mutually pledged each other that they would go to war against Garsi,<sup>2</sup> the king of Spain, and that they would do so at the close of the month of April, when they could find fresh pastures and green grass for their horses.

[W.T.,  
p. 29.]

But before vespers were sung in the town they<sup>3</sup> heard other tidings, that, if the God who created all the world had not been mindful of them, twenty thousand of their Franks would have been killed.<sup>4</sup>

### *The Arrival of Otuel.*

A Saracen of Spain, Otuel by name, a man worthy of honour in a fourfold manner, for fine physique, for prowess in arms, for lineage, and for discretion, arrived as messenger from King Garsi. He rode through Paris until he came to the court of the king. At the gate he dismounted and ascended the steps leading to the hall. Ogier of Denmark and Gwalter of Orleans, and the mighty Duke Neimus met him. He asked them to shew him Charles, and informed them that he was a messenger from a king that cared not a button for him.<sup>5</sup>

Gwalter<sup>6</sup> first answered him and said—"Behold him sitting there, the man with the white moustache<sup>7</sup> and long beard, wearing a black gown.<sup>8</sup> The man in scarlet red mantle<sup>9</sup> who sits on the one side of him is Roland, his nephew, and Earl Oliver, the companion of Roland, sits on the other side, and beyond them on either side sit the twelve peers." "By Mahomet", said the Saracen, "now

<sup>1</sup> "Gosod dadleu"; Fr. T. "I plet devisent dont sont eu contençon".

<sup>2</sup> "Garsi"; Vatican MS. "Garsilion"; Middlehill MS. "Marsilie".

<sup>3</sup> Fr. T. "Einz que finent lur parole, teles noveles orunt

Dunt vint mil chevaler de noz Franceiz murunt,

Si Dampnedeu n'en pense, qui sustent tut le mund."

<sup>4</sup> E. Sir Ott., stanza 5, "ther hade dyede thritty thousande, Gif goddes helpe ne wore".

<sup>5</sup> Middlehill MS. "Messager sui un rei qui ne l'aime un butun".

<sup>6</sup> Ogier replies according to Vatican MS., Gwalter according to Middlehill MS.

<sup>7</sup> "Kynyslwyd"; Dr. Rhys suggests "kymmysglwyd". Middlehill MS. "à cel fluri gernon"—with that white moustache; Hengwrt MS. reads "cyfyslwyd". E. Sir Ott. "with white berde large and lang | Faire of fleshe and fell".

<sup>8</sup> "Ar wisg du ymdanaw"; Middlehill MS. "a cel veir peliçon".

<sup>9</sup> "Ar vantell goch ysgarlad"; Middlehill MS. "el vermeil ciclatun"; "in rede sielaton". E. Sir Ott., v. 87.

know I Charles.<sup>1</sup> May evil fire and wild flame burn his beard and cleave his body from breast to heel.”<sup>2</sup>

*Otuel before Charles.*

Thereupon<sup>3</sup> he came into the presence of the king, and, as before, spake to him, and said—“Listen to me, I pray thee, Charles. I am a messenger of the mightiest king that ever was in the law of Spain; <sup>4</sup> who greets thee not,<sup>5</sup> for he ought not, in that thou hast roused his ire, and kindled the wrath of Mahomet, and mine also. Be he such a one as I trust in, he will kill thee and all thy companions and bodyguard, and especially thy nephew Roland, whom, should I meet in battle, or where my horse could run against him, I would pierce with my sword until it would pass through him like a spit.”<sup>6</sup> [W.T., p. 30.]

Thereupon Roland laughed and looked at the king. Then he addressed the Saracen thus—“Thou mayest now speak all thy mind and no Frank will hinder thee.”

“Yes, he may”, said Charles, “as long as it pleaseth thee, in that he is safe on my part until the end of the week.”

“You speak nonsense”,<sup>7</sup> said Otuel, “for I fear no man as long as I have my sword, Curceus by name, at my side. By it was I dubbed knight. Nine months have not yet gone by since, with it, I cut off the heads of a thousand Franks.”

“Where was that?” said Charles. “Recall the event and tell it to me.”<sup>8</sup>

“With pleasure”, said Otuel, “will I tell thee. Eight

<sup>1</sup> Middlehill MS.; “Mahun! fait li paen, ore conus jo Charlun”.

<sup>2</sup> “He saide, ane euyl flawmandre fyre  
Byrne thi berde, thi breste and thi swyre  
Euen to thi fote alle down”.

*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 8.

<sup>3</sup> From page 3, v. 18, of the French text, to page 6, v. 8, there is a lacuna in the Vatican MS., this part of the story being supplied by the Middlehill MS.

<sup>4</sup> “Ynghyfraith yr Yspaan”; Fr. T. “en la paiene lei”, p. 3, v. 21.

<sup>5</sup> For “annerthwys” read “annerchwys”; Fr. T. “ne te salu”.

<sup>6</sup> “Yn ver trwydyaw”; Fr. T. “un espeil”.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. T. “De folie parlez”, p. 4, v. 10; Hengwrt MS. reads “yn y fydd”.

<sup>8</sup> “Where? sayde the kynge in hy.  
Sir, in the playnes of lumbardy  
Thou claymes it for thi lande.”

*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 133-135.

months have gone by, and this is the ninth since thine own special city Rome, of which thou art styled emperor, was destroyed. King Garsi and his barons took it, and twenty thousand were killed there between men and women, and a great many more in addition. So many of them did I strike with my sword that the swelling<sup>1</sup> did not depart from my wrist for a week." "Alack the day thou wert ever born,"<sup>2</sup> said the Franks. Estut of Lengres, a knight of proven valour, stood up, and with a big four-sided staff<sup>3</sup> which he had in his hand, sought to strike him. Roland went between them and said to Estut, "For my love, if love thou hast for me, leave the Saracen alone and spare him. For I am pledged to him. I cannot<sup>4</sup> do him any harm. Let him say what he likes."

Thereupon a knight Provental of St. Gille, a man of rather excitable temperament, went behind the messenger when he was off his guard, and taking hold of his hair with both hands, pulled him down to the ground. Otuel [W. T. p. 31.] rose up quickly, and drawing Curceus, his sword, whose hilt was of gold, he struck off the knight's head so that it rolled at the feet of the king.

Thereupon the Franks cried out to arrest him. But he moved aside from among them, his eyes all red and rolling wildly like a famishing lion enchained and enraged,<sup>5</sup> and when there was great tumult in the palace because of this occurrence he cried out with a loud voice—"Be not agitated, barons. For, by Mahomet to whom I have devoted myself, I will cause the death of seven hundred of you, if you contend."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Hwyd"="chwyd"; Fr. T. "enflez", p. 4, v. 25; Hengwrt MS. wrongly reads "rhwd" (rust); Karl. Saga "sva miklum throta laust i hond mer".

"My selfe was ther in batelle and faughte

My neffes were *bolnede* [inflamed] dayes aughte

That selly was to see."

E. Sir Ott., vv. 148-150.

<sup>2</sup> "Gwaethiroed duw dy eni eiryoet", "Duw"="dyd"; Fr. T. "mar fustes unquez nez". Cf. Fr. T., p. 47, v. 15.

<sup>3</sup> "Trossawl"; Fr. T. "bastun"; cf. W. "pastwn".

<sup>4</sup> For "attwyf" read "allwyf". So Hengwrt MS.

<sup>5</sup> E. Sir Ott. "Bot he rollede his eghne both up and down, And ferde als a wilde lyoun".—vv. 172, 173.

<sup>6</sup> "Y kyn hennoch"="o kynhenoch"; "*cynhennu*" from Lat. "contendo"; Fr. T. "Si vos croulez", p. 5, v. 21. "Croulez"=to move, disturb. E. Sir Ott., vv. 179, 180, "And any of yow duspers *stirre* thare | the beste party schall dy."

Thereupon the emperor rose up and bade him give him his sword. The Saracen replied that he would not give it, and that it was mean on his part to ask for it.

Roland bade him surrender it to him, he undertaking to return it on his departure from them. Until then, he would, to the best of his power, protect him, so that he received no harm from anyone.

"Noble sire", said Otuel, "take it, and keep it well I pray thee; for I would not part with it for the seven best cities<sup>1</sup> in thy domain. Moreover, by it thy head also shall be cut off."

"By my faith", said Roland, "thy arrogance is beyond measure.<sup>2</sup> Cease now. Tell thy message, and then take thy leave and go." "That will I do gladly", said he, "grant me hearing."

*Otuel's Message to the King.*

"Charles", said Otuel, "I will hide nothing from thee, I am the messenger of the Emperor Garsi, who holds Spain, Alexandria, Russia,<sup>3</sup> Tyre, Sidon and Barbary, and all other countries from here to Femynie<sup>4</sup> are subject to him. He commands thee and all thine army to renounce thy Christian faith, since it is not worth a fig,<sup>5</sup> and he who believes not this<sup>6</sup> does a very foolish thing; and to pay homage to Mahomet,<sup>7</sup> and worship him who governs the whole world, and then come to him and he will grant thee Auvergne, and Manausie, and all the seaports of England, together with her estuaries<sup>8</sup> this side of the Red Sea. To thy nephew Roland he will give Russia, and to his companion Oliver he will give Slavonia. The heart of France,<sup>9</sup> however, he will not grant thee. For he has already given it to Florien of Sulie, the son of Julf the Red, king of Barbary. He is the finest man<sup>10</sup> in all Spain,<sup>11</sup> by

<sup>1</sup> E. Sir Ott., v. 194, "I nolde gif it for twelve cite."

<sup>2</sup> "Gormod ydymuelchey a ragor"; Fr. T. "Par fei, trop vos avancez".

<sup>3</sup> For "busi" read "rusi"; Fr. T. "Roussie".

<sup>4</sup> Karl. Saga, "Semilie"; K.K.K. "Similiaborg".

<sup>5</sup> E. Sir Ott., v. 222, "Ne are noghte worthe ane aye".

<sup>6</sup> "Ar neb ny chretto"; Fr. T. "et qui la croit".

<sup>7</sup> "Dyvot yu wr y vahumet"; Fr. T. "Deviens ses homs et toi et ta lignie".

<sup>8</sup> "Ae haberoed"; Fr. T. "et la navie".

<sup>9</sup> "Gallon Ffreinc"; Fr. T. "douce France".

<sup>10</sup> "Gwas goren"; Fr. T. "preudome".

<sup>11</sup> "Or yspaen"; Fr. T. "en tote paienie".

far the greatest in renown, the bravest among the knights, and the best that smites with the polished sword. He it is who will keep France free and in peace both for himself and his heir."

Then said the emperor, "By my faith", said he, "with the aid of the Almighty it shall not happen thus. And what say you to this, you my people whom I have ever protected?"<sup>1</sup>

"Right worthy emperor",<sup>2</sup> said all the barons and their armies, "never shall we suffer the Saracens to hold France in their possession.<sup>3</sup> Only summon thy forces together and set them in battle array and then lead us, if thou wilt, until we find that corrupt people. If we find King Garsi in battle he will not escape thence with his head, we swear."

"I hear you speak utter vanity and nonsense", said Otuel. "Those who are now threatening the king, he yet will vanquish and kill. For when you behold the greatness of his power and his knights, the bravest among you will not then be able<sup>4</sup> to laugh. He would rather be somewhere beyond Normandy."

"Yet", said duke Neimus, "if Charles were to summon his forces together, where could he find king Garsi? Will he fight with the hosts of Charles?"

"Thy words lack knowledge and wisdom", said Otuel. "When they are arrayed, there are seven hundred and seven thousand<sup>5</sup> of them in glittering hauberk and banners of silk.<sup>6</sup> Sooner would they suffer death together than desert one another. Besides, they have builded them a city, Atalia by name, and fortified it around with walls and dykes, between two rivers.<sup>7</sup> So that God has not created the man who could prevent their going outside to hunt or to fish. And if thou, grey-bearded Charles,<sup>8</sup> shouldest come there, we shall see then who will have a fair lady-

<sup>1</sup> "Y nifer a vegeis i eiryoet"; Fr. T. "ma mesnie norie".

<sup>2</sup> "Amherawdyr dylyedawc"; Fr. T. "drois emperere".

<sup>3</sup> "Baeliaeth"; Fr. T. "baillie" (government, power, possession).

<sup>4</sup> For "digawn" read "dichawn".

<sup>5</sup> Fr. T. "Quar païen sunt par .x. foiz .xxx. mile", p. 7, v. 26.

<sup>6</sup> For "sirie" read "siric", as suggested by Dr. Rhys. "Siric". from Lat. "serica"; probably borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon "syric". *Vide* Loth, *sub voce*.

<sup>7</sup> "Ywrg deudwr"; Fr. T. "entre .ii. eves est fremée et batie", p. 7, v. 30.

<sup>8</sup> "Chyarlys vary flwyt"; Fr. T. "Karle à la barbe florrie", p. 8, v. 4.

love,<sup>1</sup> and who best can strike with a polished sword. But go thou not there, thou hoary headed rustic.<sup>2</sup> Take my advice <sup>[W.T.,  
p. 33.]</sup> and guard the walls of Paris, lest crow or magpie alight on them. For never more wilt thou be a power in battle."

*The Challenge and the Acceptance.*

Charles felt much mortified. Thereupon Roland rose up in great passion. He took three steps towards the Saracen and said to him, "Thy arrogance and bragging before the Franks this day are beyond measure. Had I not given thee my troth thou wouldest straightway be a dead man at my sword. And should I ever meet thee in battle I will deal thee such a blow with my sword that none of gentle birth shall ever more receive harm from thee."

"Let us come to an understanding now", said Otuel, "and I challenge thee to meet me in the field to-morrow in single combat."

"Pledge me thy word", said Roland, "that thou wilt come." And the paynim pledged his word. "And let him who breaks his word be confessed a coward, and let his spurs be broken short at his heels, and let him never more be received at court."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Gorderch dec"; Fr. T. "belle amie". Canon Williams translates "the mastery" as if "gordrechu".

<sup>2</sup> "Gonners bilein." This is evidently a corruption. Canon Williams translates "The villain Conners". The Vatican MS. reads "Mès vos, veillart, la ne vendrez vos mie". We might conjecture that the reading here in the MS. was "canuz vilein"; cf. Karl. Saga "rytta afgömul" (rytta = shabby thing; afgömul = very old). According to the English version of "Sir Ottuel", it is Naymes and not Charles that is mocked by Otuel.

"Let Duke Naymes lenge at hame  
To kepe pareche walls fro schame  
That no gledes neghe tham nere  
Coo ne pye that there come none  
For cheualrye es fro hym gone  
A nolde nappere als he were."

*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 283, etc.

But in the English "Otuel" Charles is the subject of derision—

"And thou art king and old knight  
And hauest iloren al thi might  
And in thi yunkthe [youth], tak god hede  
Thou nere neuere doughti of dede."

*E. Otu.*, stanza 26.

<sup>3</sup> "Whethir oo werse es of us twoo  
Lett hewe bothe his spourres hym froo  
He never more honourede bee."

*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 307-309.

This agreement having been made known, Charles asked the Saracen, "By thy faith, from what country, and what people dost thou spring, and what is thy name?"

Otuel replied, "I am the son of king Galien, who has killed more Christians than thou hast in thy domain. The emperor Garsi is my cousin, and Fernagu, the king of Navarn, whom Roland slew, was my uncle, and to-morrow I will be avenged on him for that."<sup>1</sup>

And Charles said to him, "O prince, thou art gentle enough.<sup>2</sup> Great pity is it that thou wilt not be baptized."

Thereupon Charles called his chamberlain Reinyer and said, "Take this messenger and conduct him to the house of my friend Ernalt, and give him one hundred shillings<sup>3</sup> for his own expenses, and one hundred shillings for his horse."

Then he called to him old Reginald of the White Thorn, Gwalter of Lyons, and Ogier the Dane,<sup>5</sup> and said, "I command you to attend upon this noble knight and to supply him with everything he needs." And so they did that night.

### *Preparing for the Combat.*

The following morning at dawn of day Charles rose up, and bade them call Roland. And they went to the chapel to pray.<sup>6</sup> The abbot<sup>7</sup> of St. Omer sang mass<sup>8</sup> for them. Charles brought a silver cup<sup>9</sup> full of Parisian coins<sup>10</sup> and gave it as an offering for himself and the twelve peers. Roland also gave his sword Durendal as an offering, and afterwards redeemed it for seven silver marks.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Sir Ott., v. 316, "I chalange his dethe now in this place." Vide *Turpin*, chap. xviii; Welsh Text, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> "Bonhedie digawn ywyt"; Fr. T. "tu es assez gentis".

<sup>3</sup> Fr. T. "mar fu ton cors quant n'as bapteme pris".

<sup>4</sup> "Cann swlt"; Fr. T. "C. sols"; "swlt" from Lat. "solidus".

<sup>5</sup> Vatican MS. reads here: "Puis apele dus Naines de Baivier | Et avec lui le bons Danois Ogier"; Middlehill MS., however, as Welsh Text:

"Puis si apele le vielz chanu Richer

Galter de Liuns e li Deneis Oger

Pernez, feit il, garde del chevalier."—Fr. T., p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. K.K.K., p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> "Abat," from Lat. "abbatem"; Loth, *Les Mots Latins*, p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> "Efferen," from Lat. "offerenda".

<sup>9</sup> "Ffiol *aryant*"; Fr. T. "hanap d'or".

<sup>10</sup> "Parissenmot"; Fr. T. "parisez".

<sup>11</sup> "Seithmarc oaryant"; Fr. T. "*v. mars* donner". "Aryant", from Lat. "argentum".



After mass matins<sup>1</sup> were said, and they then left the church to look if they could see the Saracen, who had come to speak to the king.<sup>2</sup>

Thereupon Otuel rode forth haughtily and called to the king and addressed him in an arrogant tone. "Charles", said he, "where is thy nephew Roland, whom thou so greatly lovest, and in whom is placed all the trust of France? I will call him a perjurer, and will reproach him as if I had already vanquished him, if he keep not the promise he made yesterday to me, in the hearing of the whole court, both men and women."<sup>3</sup>

At these words Roland came full of wrath, and with an oath said, "By the apostles who suffered pain for their Lord I will not leave off to-day for any man living until I compel thee to hold thy peace, by conquering thee, or by killing thee, or by causing thy conversion to the Catholic faith."

"Do so", said Otuel, "don thine arms on that condition. If I fail to appear I pray thee hang me."

"Thy words are most arrogant and haughty", said Oliver. "It will be a great marvel if they turn out well for thee."

### Roland's Equipment.

Thereupon the eleven peers<sup>4</sup> led Roland to a chamber, and they armed him with fine and secure armour<sup>5</sup>—a coat of mail<sup>6</sup> made by Butor the armourer, the disciple of Galian, who was the most skilful man in that craft in his day. Duke Neimus tied the lace<sup>7</sup> round his neck, and put on his head a glittering helmet which formerly belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> "Kann orryen yr dyd"—to intone the hours of the day. "Oryen", from Lat. "horae". By "hours of the day" are meant certain prayers which are to be said or sung at stated hours of the day, as matins, lauds, prime, tierce, sext, vespers, compline. Probably the hour intoned after mass would be matins. For Welsh equivalents, see *Welsh Reports*, vol. i, p. 1112.

<sup>2</sup> "Y gyfrwch ar brenhin"; Fr. T. "au roi parler".

<sup>3</sup> "I calle hym recreyande knyghte  
I appelle hym for trouthe broken  
For the wordes that were spoken  
Yistreuene within the nyghte."

*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 29.

<sup>4</sup> "Un gogfurd ar dec"; Fr. T. "Li .xii. per".

<sup>5</sup> "Aruev tec diogel"; Fr. T. "bel et cortement"; "aruev" from Lat. "arma".

<sup>6</sup> "Lluruc", from Lat. "lorica".

<sup>7</sup> "Kareieu", from Lat. "corrigia".

[W. T.  
p. 35.]

giant Goliath, and which Charles obtained when he killed Briant. And then they brought him his sword, Durendal, which it was vain for any there to covet; for there was no one in France, either great or small, who knew it not, and was not aware that it had no equal from there to the east. And then they placed round his neck a strong and heavy shield<sup>1</sup> finely engraved with gold and azure.<sup>2</sup> In the first place, about the boss<sup>3</sup> were engraved the four chief<sup>4</sup> winds, the twelve celestial signs,<sup>5</sup> and the twelve months of the year, as if each one followed the other in succession. And on its lowest border was depicted hell, and above that, encircling it skilfully, heaven and earth.<sup>6</sup> In the two other corners were engraved, with much toil and study, the sun and moon. Its band<sup>7</sup> was all of fine silk, and its boss<sup>8</sup> a hard diamond. Then they brought him a strong spear, well tipped, and having a fine banner of red and green from the point of the lance to its hilt. And Earl Ierius put spurs of gold and silver on his feet. A horse was brought him which ran swifter than an arrow flies from a strong crossbow.<sup>9</sup> And God never made another beast that could equal it in running, or bear it company neck to neck at the flying of an arrow. His saddle was of crystal. The nails were of silver. The panel was of precious silk. The stirrups were of pure gold engraved.

The earl sprang nimbly to saddle without setting foot in stirrup, or hand on saddlebow. He made his horse canter<sup>10</sup> in the sight of his people and rode back smilingly to Charles, and said to him, "Sire, grant me thy leave and thy blessing. And then if, after that, the Saracen comes to fight with me, he will have no surety for his life."

"My nephew", said the king, "to Him who made

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. "Au col li pendent .i. fort escu pesant".

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T. "Paint à azur et à or gentement".

<sup>3</sup> "Bogel"; Fr. T. "l'urle" = "l'orle" (border); "bogel", from Lat. "buc(c)ella" (?). Loth gives the meaning of "bogel tarian" as the "swelling of a shield".

<sup>4</sup> "Pryf", from Lat. "prima".

<sup>5</sup> "Sygyn"; Fr. T. "signe".

<sup>6</sup> "Wedy yr gwmpassu yn gywreint"; Fr. T. "et ciel et terre fait par compasement".

<sup>7</sup> "Harwest."

<sup>8</sup> "Ystyslenn."

<sup>9</sup> "Albrast kadarn."

<sup>10</sup> "Gellwg neit y narch"; Fr. T. "i esclais fet"; cf *Ch. de R.*, vv. 2997, 3166.

heaven and earth I commend thee. May He defend thee from evil." And he raised his hands in prayer and signed him with the sign of the cross.

Then Roland spurred his horse towards the meadow. And all of them, even the youths and maidens, followed him, and said, "To Jesus we commend thee, and to Lady Mary; may they to-day protect thee from death."

And the eleven peers quickly mounted their horses and accompanied him between the two rivers which run through Paris, one of which is the Seine, and the other is called the great Marin.<sup>1</sup>

### *Otuel's Equipment.*

The Saracen was still standing before the king, and he said to him haughtily, "Charles", said he, "give me coat of mail, helmet, shield, and sword."<sup>2</sup> I have myself a swift destrier. There is no better horse from here to the east.<sup>3</sup> And I will promise thee truly, by my faith, that I will, before breakfast time,<sup>4</sup> kill Roland with my sword, if he still abides by the compact we made."<sup>[W. T., 36]</sup>

Thereupon the king became exceeding angry. He was well nigh bursting with rage. And he said to the paynim, "May God first confound thee and thy people. For so greatly hast thou roused my ire and my sorrow."

And thereupon he perceived his daughter Belisent coming from her chamber towards the palace. And when she entered in, the whole palace was resplendent with her beauty,<sup>5</sup> as if she were the noonday sun in May, or the sparkling splendour of a carbuncle when the night is dark. And he made a sign to her with his glove, and said, "Daughter", said he, "to thee do I commit this paynim. Equip him speedily that he lack nothing in respect of arms. He has vowed to fight against my nephew Roland."

<sup>1</sup> Middlehill MS. "L'une est Seine, l'autre Marne la grant"; Fr. T., p. 12, v. 20.

<sup>2</sup> "Ane hawberke aske I the  
Spere and schelde garre brynge me till  
For I hafe horssynge at my will  
None siche in Cristyante."

*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 387, 390.

<sup>3</sup> "Beliant"; Fr. T. "Orient".

<sup>4</sup> "Kynn awr anterth", "anterth" (=9 a.m.), from Lat. "anteter-tiam". *Karl. Saga*, "athr dogurtharmal (=breakfast) komi"; Fr. T. "ainz qu' il soit vespre ne le soleil couchant".

<sup>5</sup> Middlehill MS. "Tut le palais de sa bealté resplent".

"Gladly, lord", said she, "it shall be done according to thy desire."

Then Belisent called to her two other maidens of gentle birth, Flandrine de Monbel and Rossete de Ruissel, and the three maidens led Otuel to a square marble grotto.<sup>1</sup> And there they armed him with a coat of mail<sup>2</sup> which formerly belonged to king Sanneil, on the collar whereof, in front, was a figure of a fine bird. And Flandrine tied the lace round his neck. And on his head was put the helmet of king Galathiel. This was square in form. Around its ring<sup>3</sup> were flowers wrought in gold. And its nasal had the design<sup>4</sup> of a noble bird. Then Belisent girded on his thigh the sword which formerly belonged to king Achael. It was Curceus. Its edge was equal to that of a keen knife.

Then to his neck they hung a strong new shield as white as snow. Its boss was of gold. Its nails were of silver. And they brought him a lance of strong ash, tipped with a bright and sharp head, and a new banner as white as the bloom of the water-lily, and on it the figure of an eagle holding between its claws a dragon. Rossete de Ruissel put on his feet two spurs equal in worth to any castle. His saddle was put on his own destrier—swift Migrados. Swifter it ran, when touched with spur, than an arrow flies from the bow. The sportive and prancing steed, when it saw its master, knew him, and he vaulted on to its back. And much better knew that horse how to fight than the most skilful artizan how to strike with hammer. And then he made his horse canter,<sup>5</sup> and he returned to Belisent and said, "Noble lady", said he, "may God bless thee. Thou hast armed me well. Give me thy leave, and soon after Roland will be dead at my hand." Then Belisent said, "Nevertheless, take good care of thyself against Durendal, and unless thou defendest thyself well against it with Curceus, nevermore wilt thou hold a city."

[W. T.  
p. 37.]

<sup>1</sup> "Fur o maen marmor pedrogyl"; Fr. T. "en une croute qui fu fete à quarel"; Hengwrt MS. "furd" (table); Fr. T. "croute" (grotto); *Karl. Saga* "leidu thaer hann i lopt eitt" ("lopt"=hall).

<sup>2</sup> "Lluruc"; Fr. T. "haubert".

<sup>3</sup> The helmet was composed of three parts, the circle or *ring*, the calotte or *cap* of iron, and the *nasal* or nose piece.

<sup>4</sup> "Ar veith"="arveith"="arfaith".

<sup>5</sup> "Gellwng neit kywreint"; Fr. T. "un eslais fet".

At these words Otuel rode to Ogier the Dane<sup>1</sup> and the mighty Duke Neimus. And they accompanied him to the meadow where Roland was.

*The Mighty Combat.*

And Charles went up to the high loopholes<sup>2</sup> and called to him the eleven peers,<sup>3</sup> and bade them come with him. At his command all the Franks moved out of the meadow, and left it to the two knights. And then he bade them fight when they listed. And Otuel said that he was ready. And Roland thereupon said to the paynim, "O unbelieving paynim", said he, "from this time forth I renounce my covenant with thee".<sup>4</sup> "And I, likewise, mine with thee", said Otuel, "and guard thyself well against me, for I do not love thee at all. And I require of thee the death of my uncle Fernagu, whom thou didst kill."

And then they pricked their horses hard<sup>5</sup> with their spurs and made a rush at each other, so that, what with the speed, the fury, and especially the clamour, the meadow quaked and the earth was rent in furrows.

Setting their lances, on which the banners rustled ominously in the wind, they dealt heavy blows each on the other's shield, so that the lance shafts of both were broken and also their newly tanned leather<sup>6</sup> belts. Their coats of mail, however, were good, seeing that not a single ring was broken or strained. And the mighty knights rode on, neither the one nor the other having lost anything.

[W.T.,  
p. 38.]

Then Charles said, "O God", said he, "this seems to me a great wonder that the Saracen is able to withstand one blow from Roland."

His daughter, Belisent, who was standing by, said, "My arms are very good, and he who bears them is in no wise a coward."

After these words, Roland drew his sword, Durendal, and struck Otuel on the glittering helmet so that its nasal fell to the ground and with it a great number of rings, and

<sup>1</sup> W. T. "ly danais".

<sup>2</sup> "Ffenestri uchel"; Fr. T. "grans fenestres"; *Karl. Saga* "vigs korth" (= statio propugnatorum in muris).

<sup>3</sup> Fr. T. "Les .xii. pers a o soi apelez."

<sup>4</sup> "Ymdiffydyaf" from di + ffyd, from L. Lat. "diffidare", to dissolve the bond of allegiance, to defy; Fr. T. "je te defi dès ici en avant".

<sup>5</sup> "Yn gadarn"; Fr. T. "airéement" = in passion, rage.

<sup>6</sup> "Lledyr brwt."

fair flowers, and precious stones. With a second blow he smote the horse's head off its body far on to the ground.

And then Otuel fell when his horse failed him, and he said two words.<sup>1</sup> "By Mahomet", said he, "thou hast done a dishonourable thing in killing my horse without cause or desert on its part. And thine will not leave this place bragging."<sup>2</sup>

And he drew Curceus his sword, held his shield before him, sprang in front of Roland and struck him on his helmet that its nasal fell to the ground, and the blow glided off the pommel and cut through the saddle and through the horse about the shoulders, so that the sword was up to its hilt in the ground. And he loudly cried, in a boastful strain, "By Mahomet", said he, "that was not a child's<sup>3</sup> stroke."

"O God", said the king, "how heavy was that blow! And I pray the Lady Mary to defend for me my nephew Roland." And if the earl fell, no one need wonder at that. For his horse had fallen dead under him. Durendal, however, was already in his hand, and with it he set upon the Saracen and struck him across the helmet that he smote off the fourth<sup>4</sup> part thereof, the hood of the mail, and a part of his ear, and he clave his shield asunder, and he himself was now either killed or vanquished as everybody supposed. Nevertheless, Otuel had still great valour and strength to fight as hitherto. And with Curceus he paid the blow back to Roland, and Roland to him, again more vigorously, not willing to take anything from him unrequited. And so they continued exchanging blows and stubbornly fighting on either side, so that their coats of mail availed them nought against their swords, and the meadow glittered with the rings of their hauberks.

And then said Belisent,<sup>5</sup> "What very noble fighting

<sup>1</sup> "Deu air"; Fr. T. "et dit ii mos".

<sup>2</sup> "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "*gabant*".

<sup>3</sup> For "maw" read "macwy". *Karl. Saga* "ok kvath that ekki barns högg":—

"This was a stythe stroke of a knyghte,  
And no thyng of a childe."—*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 485-6.

<sup>4</sup> "A quartere of his helme awaye gane vale,  
And halfen-dele of his one ere."—*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 497-8.

<sup>5</sup> "Belisent sayde full curtaysly,  
Mi lorde, thay feghten full gentilly  
And grete trauayle thay hafe."—*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 505-507.

there is between them now. And it cannot, however, last long, because of the gallantry of the knights. And very well does Roland's sword Durendal cut. But it avails nought against Curceus."

"O God", said the king, "how my mind failed me, and how my heart suffered me to speak falsely," and crossing himself he fell towards the east<sup>1</sup> and offered a prayer to God after this wise, "O God Almighty, seeing Thou art the Lord and Ruler of all people gentle and savage, defend my Roland, and turn the heart of the Saracen, Otuel, that he may receive baptism and that he may believe in Thy blessed name." And he kissed the ground and rose up. And then he put his head out of the loophole and saw the knights fighting as before, not having as much of their shields as would cover their hands in front.

Then Roland said to the paynim, "Renounce Mahomet and Tervagant", said he, "and believe in one God Almighty who suffered pain to redeem us from hell's everlasting bondage, and accept a noble gift, even Belisent, the daughter of the Emperor Charles, and mine own cousin. I will cause her to be given to thee. And I and thou and Oliver will be companions. And there will be no castle, city, or place which we cannot take and subdue. For myself, however, as in the past, I seek not from thee the value of a single spur."

"What nonsense thou speakest", said Otuel. "And shame be to him who made thee a clerk.<sup>2</sup> And while thou art a clerk and a disciple I am a master,<sup>3</sup> as I will shew thee before we part. I will give thee such a blow that thou shalt not be able to utter a word<sup>4</sup> any more than an anvil struck by an iron mallet." And thereupon Roland became enraged beyond measure, and with Durendal, [W.T., p. 40.]

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. "En croiez se jete Karle contre Oriant", p. 18, v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T. "Male honte ait qui de vos fist clerçon"; p. 19, v. 10.

"Thou kan to littell of clergy  
To leryn me siche a lare."

*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 531, 532.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. T. "Ffaillé avez à ce premier sermon  
Ne savez thas bien lire la leçon  
Mès je sui metre, si le vos apenron."

p. 19, vv. 11-13.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. T. "Tel te donrai sus ce hiaume reon  
Ke ne poras dire ne ou ne non."

p. 19, vv. 15-16.

whose hilt was of fine gold, in his hand, he struck the warrior Otuel on the top of his helmet that fire flashed out of both sword and helmet. The Saracen parried as one skilled in action, and the blow glanced along his shoulder blade, and clave his double hauberk and all his armour from the top of his shoulder to the girdle of his breeches. The sword, however, did not touch the flesh. And yet so very heavy was the blow that it made the knight bend and well nigh fall down on his knees. This being so, many of the Franks gave thanks, being delighted with the blow, and said that the Saracen was conquered and could no longer defend himself nor fight. Possibly, however, not one among them knew Otuel, or had seen him before in battle. The son of King Galien jumped up nimbly to avenge the blow, and if Roland had not parried that stroke, never more would he have entered the list in knightly combat.

And the Saracen changed colour, and his eyes rolled quickly in his head, like a wild and famished beast.<sup>1</sup> And he raised Curceus on high and attacked Roland with all his might. And in his rage he struck him a heavy blow on the top of his helmet that would have smote off his head if the sword had not turned in his grasp. The second blow he dealt on his left side, and as much of the shield as was in his hand and as much of the other parts of the armour as met the blow he broke in pieces until the sword was plunged far into the earth. And Roland fell off his horse to the ground. And drawing his sword out of the ground he said, "By Mahomet, well does my sword cut."

The Franks then perceiving this, were filled with fear at the might of the strokes, and seeing that they had torn their coats of mail both back and front, and that no more of their shields remained than would cover their hands, they fell on their faces towards the east. And great fear came upon them for their Lord Roland. And they prayed the Lord God to give good counsel to the knights and to make peace between them, either by treaties or by some other security.

#### *The Conversion of Otuel.*

And at these words, a dove came flying, so that Charles and all his army could see it, and the Holy Ghost descen-

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. "Les iex roille ausi com *liemier*" (bloodhound), p. 20, v. 1.



ded upon Otuel's shoulder. And then he said, as Roland was aiming to strike him, to avenge his blows, "Cease, Roland", said he, "and stay thine hand. I know not what I have seen flying in my presence. My mind and purpose are changed.<sup>1</sup> Let the fighting end here. And for thy love I will receive baptism, and I ask forgiveness of Mary. Henceforth she shall be my defence and in her will I trust." And when Roland heard these words, joyfully<sup>2</sup> he said to him, "Noble sire",<sup>3</sup> said he, "art thou minded to do this?" "Yea, by my faith, I am", said Otuel, "and I do now renounce Mahomet, Tervagant, Apolin, lousy Jupiter, and all their gang."

Thereupon they threw away their swords on the grass, and the brave knights embraced each other.<sup>4</sup> "O God", said the king, "how great is this Thy power,<sup>5</sup> behold they are reconciled, and are making some compact between themselves methinks. And go ye, my brave knights, to see." And they went as quickly as they could. And the king himself came spurring his horse after them, and having arrived, he said, "My beloved nephew", said he, "how farest thou, and what alliance have you formed between you?"

"Sire", said he, "I fare very well in that I am perfectly whole and happy. And I have received no harm, though I fought with the best and bravest warrior that ever was among the paynims.<sup>6</sup> And thanks be to God, I have achieved this, that Otuel will receive baptism and the Christian faith. And welcome thou him with joy, and grant him honour and power according to his desire, and, in addition, thy daughter Belisent to wife."

"O God", said the king, "Thou hast done what I desired, and that was the prayer that I was about to make to Thee."

Then they with haste divested the knights of their

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. "Ne soi quel chose me va ci conseilant

Qui m'a mué mon cuer et mon talant."—p. 21, vv. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "en riant".

<sup>3</sup> "Unbenn bonhedic"; Fr. T., "jentis hons sires", p. 21, v. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. T. "L'espée jete sus l'erbe verdoiant,

Les bras tendus se vont entrecolant."—p. 21, vv. 25-26.

<sup>5</sup> "Gwyrtheu", from Lat. "virtus"; Fr. T. "vertuz".

<sup>6</sup> "Mi lorde, full gentilly

I hafe foughten with the beste knyghte

In alle this werlde es none so wighte."

E. *Sir Ott.*, vv. 594-6.

armour. And Roland mounted a swift fiery destrier,<sup>1</sup> and Otuel a high ambling mule, and they came towards the city to baptize Otuel. And they sought the Church<sup>2</sup> of Mary. And Turpin, the Archbishop of Rheims, put on his stole,<sup>3</sup> and took a psalter, and said the Litany. And then he came above the font and blessed it. Great also was the number of earls, barons and knights, and the crowd<sup>4</sup> of them looking at Otuel being baptized. Charles was his sponsor at his baptism, and Earl Odis, and Gerard, earl of Normandy. And they did not change his name, but as before, they called him Otuel.

*The Betrothal of Otuel and Belisent.*

And thereupon, when he had renounced his unbelief and had been baptized, Belisent came, who was fairer than the bloom of the rose.<sup>5</sup> And Dawns of the fair beard led her to Charles. And the king took her by her sleeve and said to her, "Daughter, thou art very beautiful, and thy complexion is fair, and whosoever may have thee in his possession, and at his desire for one night, ought never afterwards to be a coward, but should be praised for his valour and be very brave. So will he who will have thee, if God will grant him life, and whom many of the Franks will envy."<sup>6</sup>

And to Otuel he said, "My godson, thou hast now embraced the right faith. For thou hast renounced Mahomet and hast received baptism. In return I give thee my daughter Belisent to wife, and with her the land of Verel and Iuorie, and Chaste and Plansence, and Melan and Panie and Lombardy." Then Otuel bent on his knees, and with great humility<sup>7</sup> and gratitude kissed the king's foot and spake to him in this fashion, "Sire", said he, "I will never refuse that. If the maid is willing I also am willing."<sup>8</sup> And Belisent then said, "I am willing,

<sup>1</sup> "Amys", from Lat. "admissus", see Loth, *Les Mots*, etc., p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T. "Au montier [monasterium] l'ont mené Sainte Marie."

<sup>3</sup> "Ystol", from Lat. "stola"; Fr. T. "estole", v. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. T. "Grant fu la prese de la chevalerie

Por Otinel qui recoit bautestire."—p. 22, vv. 25, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. T. "Elle est plus blanche que nule magerie",

"Et plus vermoille que la rosse florie."—p. 23, vv. 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> MS. R. begins here. Fr. T., p. 23, v. 8.

<sup>7</sup> "Vuulltatwt", from Lat. "humilitatem"; MS. R. "Les piez lui beise, forment se humilie".

<sup>8</sup> Fr. T. "Se la pucelle me vent, je bien l'otrie", p. 23, v. 19.

and now I have found my joy, and I ought never to repent me of my union, and never shall my love be false to thee."

"And since thou wilt be my betrothed", said Otuel, "for love of thee I will win me renown and fame. And many paynims before the city of Atalie shall die by my bright sword, for I have received baptism. And to thee, worthy emperor,<sup>1</sup> I commend my betrothed until we come to the plains of Lombardy, and our nuptials<sup>2</sup> will be celebrated in the plains around Atalie, when I shall have killed<sup>3</sup> king Garsi."

## B.—THE WAR AGAINST GARSÍ.

### *The Council at Paris.*

And then the king entered into his palace, and his barons went with him, and their meal was ready.<sup>4</sup> And they having entered, the cloths were laid, and they sat down to eat. And, not to labour the point, supper was announced. And all having satisfied their need, there being no lack of wine, the king went into his chamber, and after him all went into their tents to rest and to sleep. And they shut the doors until the morrow after sunrise. Then the king rose up and summoned his barons to him. And he went and sat on a marble table<sup>5</sup> in the hall, having in his hand a fine staff studded with nails of gold, and he said to them, "Lords, Barons, hearken unto me and advise me, for it is your duty so to do, concerning king Garsi, who, as ye have heard, has entered my domain by force, and is burning my castles, and demolishing my cities, and destroying the Christian faith as far as he possibly can. Shall we go to war against him immediately after winter, or shall we wait until summer?"

The Franks replied and said, "We are all surprised at what thou sayest about delaying and prolonging the time. For this Garsi has all things ready, and is daily destroying thy country, and before summer comes he will have com-

<sup>1</sup> "Amherawdylr dylyedawc"; Fr. T. "Droiz emperere".

<sup>2</sup> "A ni ae pieifydwn"; pieifydwn = pian + fyddwn = priodwn; MS. R. "Les noces serrunt a prez toz Atalie".

<sup>3</sup> "Ym lad" = "i'm ladd." Hengwrt MS. (wrongly), "pam darfo ymlad Garsi"; cf. MS. R. "Quant auerai mort l'emperur Garsie".

<sup>4</sup> "Parawt", from Lat. "paratus".

<sup>5</sup> "Vort o vaen mynor"; Fr. T. "une table d'eschine".

From page 24, v. 11, to page 26, v. 22, is missing in the Vatican MS., and is supplied by Middlehill MS.

pleted the subjection of the greater part of thy domain, if he goes on in the future as he is doing now. Therefore it is wrong to miss the opportunity."

"Seeing that this is the advice of you all", said the king, "for love of me, be ye prepared by the end of March to start at once at the beginning of April." And all agreed to that.

### *Preparation for War.*

Then the king had letters written, and sent them by messengers over all his empire, commanding that no knight, foot soldiers, possessor of bow or of arblast, should tarry, but should come to him to Paris by the first day of April. And he who could not come should send four pence to St. Denis.<sup>1</sup> And though the time was longer than it takes us to relate, that month nevertheless passed, and January, February and March. And the appointed time quickly<sup>2</sup> came.

[W.T.,  
p. 44.] The emperor was in Paris, and the twelve peers<sup>3</sup> with him, namely, Roland and his companion Oliver, Anseis, Gerard, Engeliens, Estult de Lengres, Archbishop Turpin, Giriers, Bertoloi, Otuel, the duke Neimus, and Ogier the Dane.<sup>4</sup>

And they went up to the high loopholes, and through them they see coming the men of Germany, Bavaria, Loriger, Angevin, Gascony, Berriuer, Poitou, Provençal, Burgundy, Flanders, Puiers and Normandy. And the Bretons were coming with their shields coloured in four shades, and leading their fiery destriers with their right hands. It was difficult for any in that part of the country to withstand them. Each of the knights was attended by four esquires, of whom they could make knights, if there was need in the future. And under Montmartre they came together in thousands.

### *The Departure of the Army from Paris.*

On the first day of April, at the dawn of day, the king and his host set out from Paris, and came to St. Denis. From thence they set out on their journey<sup>5</sup> and took their leave. And they left their wives and their

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* W. T., p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> "Amysgawn."

<sup>3</sup> For different lists of the twelve peers see Gaston Paris, *Histoire Poétique*, p. 507.

<sup>4</sup> W. T. "Oger ly danais."

<sup>5</sup> "Dechreuassant eu fford."

families weeping and cursing Garsi. And they sounded their horns. And as many as ever had noble wife or fair betrothed set out with the king to Lombardy. Roland was the commander of the host in the van, and the mighty duke Neimus kept the rear.

Otuel, however, did not leave his betrothed behind, but took Belisent with him, mounted on a mule of Hungary, whose pace was quicker than flies the swiftest galley ship on the sea. Seven hundred barons formed her court, constantly maintained in meat and apparel by her. Each of them was fine in strength, great in himself, and very brave. And though the time was longer than it takes us to relate, they left France and Burgundy and Mungui, Iuorie, and Montferrant, until they saw Atalie, the strong city where Garsi was, and with him the infidel people.

So far no one troubled them on their journey, or could if he wished. And under Mount Poun, in a meadow by the banks of the river Toon, there they pitched their tents. [W.T.,  
p. 45.]

*The Adventures of the Three Peers.*

And then the emperor made the Franks rest from day to day, for a week, that the knights might throw off their fatigue and weariness, bleed their horses, take care of and heal their maladies. And nothing essential to him was left unthought of. He made a bridge to span the river that they might pass over at their wish. And when they returned they raised the bridge to prevent any of the paynims from following them, binding the rafters and planks strongly with iron.

The bridge having been completed they went to their tents to eat. But Roland, unknown to any save to Oliver and Ogier the Dane, did not go. These three went and armed themselves under a laurel tree. They then mounted their steeds, crossed the bridge and went towards the city seeking any that would fight with them. Before their return, however, the bravest of them would not be recompensed for being there with a heap of pure gold.<sup>1</sup>

There were there four kings of the infidel race of paynims, who had come a good mile out of the city to fence. Each was well armed according to his desire. Their names,

<sup>1</sup> "Mwtwl o eur coeth"; MS. R. "un mui d'or cler"; Fr. T. "M. marz d'argent cler", p. 27.

unless history is untrue, were as follows. One of them was Balsamin, king of Ninivent. The second was King Eurabil, a man who never kept faith or promise with any. The third was Ascanard, a man who killed more than a thousand men with his sword. The fourth was Clarel. There was not a finer man than he from there to the land of the rising sun. He never found a man who could oppose him in battle, or could stand a blow from him, whom he did not smite down to the ground wounded or killed. These were going along the meadow leading their destriers by the reins. And they were violently threatening Roland and Oliver, swearing that if they lived long enough to lead their hosts into the heart of France,<sup>1</sup> there would be no guarantee to Charles against them for his life, and on the twelve peers also they would accomplish their desires.

[W.T.,  
p. 46.] And Clarel said to them, "Sires, we shall profit nothing by such threatening. Much praise have I heard of Roland, and that there is not from here to the east a braver man than he, and that against his sword nothing prevails. Nevertheless, I pray my God, Mahomet, and Tervagant, that I may again meet him in battle. I will smite him on the top of his helm with my sword. And I think it will be very hard unless I cleave him down to his teeth. For I have a just cause, if I could find him, seeing that he killed my brother Samson de Monbrant in a tournament under Mount Pampelune. And I shall die of pain and grief unless I can avenge him."

The Franks were riding silently and secretly under the shelter of the wood which is called Forestant.<sup>2</sup> And when they heard the noise of the paynims they stood and listened. Roland saw them first, and he said to his companions, "Sires, rejoice, see there the paynims standing under the rock. And there are only four of them as far as I can see. Thanks be to the Almighty, we may safely fight now." "Quite true", said his companions, "let all be done according to thy desire."<sup>3</sup>

Thereupon they set their lances, and spurred their horses towards the paynims.

<sup>1</sup> "Ymperved fireinc"; Fr. T. "douce France".

<sup>2</sup> "Forestant"; MS. R. "Forestant"; Fr. T. "Forest grant".

<sup>3</sup> From page 28, v. 28, to page 38, v. 23, there is a lacuna in the Vatican MS., and this part is supplied from the Middlehill MS.

Clarel, raising his head, looked towards the sun,<sup>1</sup> and he saw the earls coming towards them at a gallop.<sup>2</sup> And he called his companions to him quickly and said to them, "Sires, let your hearts and minds be at ease. I see afar off three knights spurring their horses towards us. Meet them and ascertain what they seek. Ye are three and they also are three."

And thereupon the paynims, without any delay, gave their horses the bridle, and without saying anything or asking who they were or whence they came, or what they sought, they began to deal blows to each other.

Ascanard attacked Roland with a spear, and struck him under the boss of his shield, and split it through, and broke off the head of his lance. And because his armour was good he received no further harm.

Roland, however, struck him back with all his might so that neither shield nor coat of mail nor any other part of his armour availed him the value of a fig. He pierced his breast and clave his heart asunder, and smote him dead to the ground, and mockingly<sup>3</sup> he uttered these few words, "Son of a harlot, thou hast met Roland in battle, whom just now thou wert threatening." [W.T.,  
p. 47.]

Eurabyl attacked Ogier the courteous<sup>4</sup> with a spear and dealt him a heavy blow on his shield, cut off<sup>5</sup> thirty rings of the coat of mail, and the spear almost struck his side. However, it availed him not the value of a single pea.

Thereupon Ogier thrust him through his shield, his coat of mail, and all other parts of his linen armour, and also through his own accursed body, so that he fell dead down to the ground. And he spake two courteous words<sup>6</sup> to him, "Son of a harlot, I am Ogier the Dane, and for dealing such blows as this am I beloved of Charles."<sup>7</sup>

Balsamin, the king of Ninivent, attacked Oliver with a spear and pierced his shield on which a lion was depicted, but it availed him nought. Then Oliver thrust

<sup>1</sup> "Yn erbyn yr heul"; Fr. T. "vers levant"; i.e., towards the East, p. 29, line 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Wrth yr awwyneu"; Fr. T. "mut fierement". "*Afwyn*", from Lat. "*habena*".

<sup>3</sup> "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "en riant".

<sup>4</sup> W. T., "le curteis".

<sup>5</sup> The verb "cut off" is supplied from "*trenche*", Fr. T.

<sup>6</sup> "Deueir letneis"; Fr. T. "dous moz curteis".

<sup>7</sup> Fr. T. "Pur tels colps feire m'aime Charle li reis"; cf. "Pur itels olps nus aimet l'Emperere", *Ch. de R.*, v. 1377.

him through all his fine ensign and armour and his own lousy body, and smote him down dead, and said to him, "I commend thee to him<sup>1</sup> to whom thou didst devote thyself." At that instant Clarel spurred his steed towards him to avenge the Saracen, if Oliver would wait for the blow. But Roland came across in front of him and he dealt the Saracen a heavy blow on his shield. And good was the armour and secure, that protected him from death.

His horse then raised his forefeet and fell back on its haunches, and both he and Roland fell to the ground.

Thereupon, with a loud voice, Clarel shouted their rallying cry<sup>2</sup> and went flying towards the city and praying God to receive him and defend him.

But Ogier the Dane,<sup>3</sup> however, overtook him and dealt him a heavy blow right on his breast.<sup>4</sup> And so good was the armour that nothing gave way any more than before. Nevertheless he fell down senseless. Oliver took his horse and brought it to Roland by its bridle. And he spake to him in this wise, "Sire", said he, "mount quickly. Here is a present for thee from Ogier, a horse which is better than thine own. And I think it is worth a hundred of it."

[W. T.,  
p. 48.] And then Roland quickly mounted without putting either foot in stirrup<sup>5</sup> or hand on saddlebow. And the Saracen rose up on his feet and drew his sword, Melle, and mightily defended himself with his shield. And Roland went towards him and unsheathed Durendal, and with it smote off so much of his shield as met it. Clarel fought furiously in defending himself. But he saw it availed him nought. And he said to them in this wise, "Sires", said he, "grant me my life, I pray you, and take my sword. You made a great and mighty attack. Who is chief among you, that I may render him my sword?" And Roland received from him his sword. And they brought him a swift black horse fully harnessed, on whose back was killed the king of Ninivent.

<sup>1</sup> "Yr gwr"; Hengwrt MS. "yr diawl"; Fr. T. "Al malfé".

<sup>2</sup> "Eu harwyd Naimawnt"; MS. R. "en halt s'escerie s'enseine *Naunant*"; cf. W. T., p. 56, line 5, where *Karl. Saga* translates "Nu kallar merki sitt that het *Nanant*", though here the rendering is "ok helt upp merki sinu". "*Naimawnt*" is evidently a corruption of "*raünant*"; Fr. T. "s'enseigne raünant", from "re-unir", to rally.

<sup>3</sup> W. T. "Oger ly danais". <sup>4</sup> "Ymperued cledyr y dwyuronm."

<sup>5</sup> "Heb dodi y droet yny warthauyl."



Thereupon these noble companions made an end of fighting. And Clarel was with them, a prisoner. And they thought of leading him and presenting him to Charlemagne. But before they had gone a mile they had another matter which they considered of greater importance. For the Saracens<sup>1</sup> had assembled together, one thousand and five hundred in number as far as one could estimate. They heard their horns and saw their glittering helmets and their pennons streaming in the breeze. And when Roland saw them he began to whistle, and to fix himself firmly in the saddle.<sup>2</sup> And he said with an oath to Ogier, "By the most High Lord, who claims<sup>3</sup> to be God", said he, "if I can to-day do battle against them<sup>4</sup> with Durendal, thou shalt see me smiting and killing them, so that tidings<sup>5</sup> of it will travel beyond the sea."

"Lords barons", said Oliver, "I have heard wise men say that man cannot always guard<sup>6</sup> himself against evil, and that he who engages in many battles and encounters will not always escape to his home with a whole skin. For when a man thinks he is about to meet with the greatest quietness and good fortune, then is he nearest to being disturbed." "Quite true", said Ogier, "and therefore we ought to be brave, and it is unseemly for us to be timid. For you see the paynims, and we cannot avoid them. We must pass through the midst of their spears, [W.T., p. 49.] and therefore each one of us should now shew his prowess. Set Clarel also at liberty. For such a man ought not to be shamefully killed nor treated with disdain. For you see that we cannot take him with us, and perchance he may some other time repay<sup>7</sup> us the kindness."

"By Mahomet", said Clarel, "a noble mind and heart caused thee to speak these words."

And then Ogier addressed his companions a second time, and said, "Roland", said he, "thou art a mighty man, bold, fearless, and wary, and a leader in battles. And Oliver also has proved himself a brave knight. And I myself have

<sup>1</sup> "For the Saracens" is supplied from the French text.

<sup>2</sup> "Ymgadarnhau yny warthafleu"; Fr. T. "s'afiche"; cf. *Ch. de R.*, v. 3117.

<sup>3</sup> "A vynnwys ei alw"; Fr. T. "qui se fit clamer".

<sup>4</sup> "Ymgymysgu"; Fr. T. "meller".

<sup>5</sup> "Chwedleu"; Fr. T. "noveles".

<sup>6</sup> "Ymoglyt" = "ymogelyd"; Fr. T. "garder".

<sup>7</sup> "Talu y pwyth"; Fr. T. "reguerdoner".

escaped from many a narrow strait in battle and tournament. Behold yonder the paynims, we cannot avoid<sup>1</sup> them. And we cannot implore any other help for this. Therefore he who now strikes not with the sword bravely and not timidly will do the cowardly thing, and prove himself henceforth a coward." Having spoken in this wise they cried "Monjoie",<sup>2</sup> and with one accord the three attacked their enemies, and in that place afterwards were found very many of the paynims, some dead and others lying desperately wounded.<sup>3</sup>

Roland dealt a blow to a paynim, Berruier by name, who was blacker than the blackest wild blackberry,<sup>4</sup> and smote him down dead in the middle of the road. Oliver struck Baisan de Montpeler, and Ogier struck Moter, a Saracen, and they smote them down dead. These were the three first killed. They then made use of their swords. Roland went among them smiting them down one by one with every stroke of Durendal. The Saracens found Oliver also very fierce. With Hauteclere he made so wide a path among them that it would be possible to drive along it four carts abreast. The brave Ogier also gave there occasion for praise. He spurred his horse into their midst, and with Curceus he immediately made the heads of thirty of them fly off their bodies.

### *Ogier a Prisoner.*

Thereupon came Carmel of Tabarie, a Saracen, who was the leader of all the others. He was securely armed on all points,<sup>5</sup> and rode his steed Penopie. In his own tongue he cried out with a loud voice, "What art thou doing? May Mahomet curse you!"<sup>6</sup> What shall we say to the emperor Garsi in that three men are vanquishing so great a host as this? I will now, in any case, take away the life of one of the three". And he spurred his

<sup>1</sup> "Gwrthneu"; Fr. T. "refuser".

<sup>2</sup> "Galw ar eu llywenyd". "Monjoie", O. Fr. "Munjoie", was the rallying cry of those who fought under Charles. Properly speaking, it was Charlemagne's banner or standard.

<sup>3</sup> MS. R. ends here.

<sup>4</sup> "Mwryar ffreghic"; Fr. T. "mure de murer".

<sup>5</sup> "Yn gyweir o aruen diogel"; Fr. T. "bien est armé".

<sup>6</sup> "Beth awney di vahamet emelldigedic" = "What art thou doing, thou cursed Mahomet?" is an impossible expression for a faithful Saracen; Fr. T. "Ke faites vous? Mahumet vos maldie!"

horse and brandished his spear, and he struck Ogier a blow, and pierced him through his shield and all his armour, and he fell down wounded. Thereupon Roland saw Ogier's blood gushing out and all pouring forth, and he struck the Saracen on his helmet, and his sword clave right through him without stopping. And he said to him, "Traitor,"<sup>1</sup> said he, "may the God of Heaven curse thee. A brave fellow hast thou taken from my fellowship." And he spurred his horse along the field, cutting to pieces the infidel race. There was another Saracen, whom may God curse. He was a cousin of Alphanie, a fair maid, who that morning had given him love-tokens,<sup>2</sup> and he had promised her that he would deal a fine blow<sup>3</sup> to one of the Christians. And if the Lord God had not been mindful of them, he would have caused them very great anxiety.

He dealt Oliver a blow with his full intent, and strong was the armour that then protected his life. He was thrown to the ground, but was not, however, wounded. The earl got up quickly and mounted Penopie, the good destrier of Carmel of Tabarie, as was said above. And he cried to his companions, "Lord Roland", said he, "be not at all anxious about me. I have pledged my troth to thee that I would not fail thee as long as we live, and I will make it good." Thereupon began the tumult and the fighting of Franks and of paynims. Then Ogier rose up quickly. And because the press of the soldiers around him was so great, he could not mount his horse. Then looked he at his sword and began to praise it in this wise, "O Curceus, much ought I to love thee. In Charles' court thou didst make me beloved and honoured. To-day we two must part. But before I die I wish to show thy mettle." And he dealt a paynim a blow on his helmet and cut him through armour and head as far as the teeth. Roland then called him back, but he heard him not. For there were so many of the paynims around him that he knew not in what direction he ought first to go to defend himself from them. The esquires of some of the Saracens then vigorously essayed to kill him, and he mightily defended himself.

[W. T.,  
p. 51.]

<sup>1</sup> "Culvert twyllwr"; Fr. T. "culvert"; the Fr. "culvert" is translated and then transferred into the W. T.

<sup>2</sup> "Tlyssen", lit. "jewels". *Karl. Saga* "astarthokka".

<sup>3</sup> "Dyrnawt clotuorus"; Fr. T. "Colp de chevalerie".

Thereupon King Clarel perceived him in much distress, and yet dealing deadly blows with his sword. And he bade the esquires leave him alone. And to Ogier he said, "Surrender thy sword to me and be not afraid. Thou mayest safely trust in me. No evil shall befall thee while I can defend thee."

Moaffla,<sup>1</sup> one of the esquires, said, "Thou canst not defend him. Thou shalt see him, however, cut in pieces before thy eyes, limb from limb."

When Clarel heard these words, he became quite mad with rage. And he drew his sword and smote off Moaffla's head to the far end of the field, and said to him thus, "Thou wilt now let Ogier alone."

He found a good horse and made Ogier mount it. And he called to him eight Saracens of his own court, those in whom he could best trust, and he said to them, "Lords, give good heed to this affair; take Ogier to Alphanie, my beloved, and tell her to look after him well." And he sent six of them to go with Ogier, and they were to examine his wounds often while on the journey.

Alphanie, the king's daughter, had entered an orchard to amuse herself, and there were with her two other noble maidens, Gware and Belamyr. They saw the paynims, and one of them said to the others, "Let us go and speak<sup>2</sup> to them, and enquire after their condition and intentions." And Alphanie said to them, "Ah, barons, tarry<sup>3</sup> with us and tell us your news. How met you this knight? Was he taken in battle and thus wounded?"

"Noble lady", said the Almaffet, "by Mahomet, why dost thou mock us? So great a wrath burns in our hearts that we could not laugh even if we would." "And pray, who troubled you so", said she, "take heed that you do not conceal it from me." "This knight",<sup>4</sup> said they, "and two others have smote off the heads of at least a hundred of our paynims. And Clarel, thy beloved, bade thee, for his love, to look after him well." "Go back now", said she, "and take the others also and bring them to me." "Summer will come", said they, "ere we can do that." And forthwith they went back.

<sup>1</sup> "Moaffla"; Fr. T. "l' Almaaffe".

<sup>2</sup> "Gyfrwch"; Fr. T. "parler".

<sup>3</sup> "Kyfarhowch" = cyf + arhos = cyd aros.

<sup>4</sup> "Bwinart"; Fr. T. "buinard". The word is left untranslated in the Welsh Text.

The fair lady then said to the earl, "Come now", said she, "and thou shalt be well treated and lodged. And tell me thy name and of what nation thou wert born."

"My name", said he, "is Ogier the Dane, and my people are in the court of the emperor Charles." "I know thee well enough now," said the maiden. And then the three maidens led Ogier to a place under an olive tree. First of all they attended<sup>1</sup> to his horse, and led it to the stable. They then divested him of his armour, washed his wounds with skill, and laid him to sleep. And they gave him to eat a blessed virtuous herb of great value which God himself planted in His garden. It was called "All health."<sup>2</sup> No man could estimate its value in worldly goods. And he slept soundly, of which he had great need. When he woke up he felt more lively, and healthier than the healthiest apple in the orchard.

Let us now cease speaking of Ogier the Dane, whose bravery never failed him when he needed it most.

*Otuel to the Rescue.*

We will now speak of duke Roland and of his companion Oliver, whom Ogier left in battle fighting bravely with their swords. There were still a thousand of the paynims opposing them. They could no longer, however, deal such heavy and so frequent blows as at first. And therefore they took to flight. And no one except a fool would wonder at it. And the paynims followed them in order to smite off their heads.

And then Otuel sought and enquired after the earls in all parts of the camp. And when he could not find them, he knew that they had gone towards Attalie to fight. With haste he ran to put on his armour. And he took with him seven hundred knights. The most timid of all that number was brave enough to conquer a mighty king. Having donned his armour, Otuel mounted his horse and went to greet the king.<sup>3</sup> And he said to him—"Sire,<sup>4</sup> bid [W.T.,  
p. 53.] the Franks put on their armour, and let us go and put our forces in battle array. Thy nephew Roland takes me for a coward, seeing that he went without me to fight this morning. If evil befalls him, whom

<sup>1</sup> "Gwrteissant"; Fr. T. "areinent".

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T. "Seine at à nun", p. 37, v. 13.

<sup>3</sup> "A mynet i gyfrwch ar brenhin"; Fr. T. "si veit al rei parler".

<sup>4</sup> Hengwrt MS. ends here.

ought he to blame? He wishes too much to excel all men. But by Him who claims to be God, if I may to-day meet the Saracens, thou shalt hear me cry 'Monjoie', and see me deal such blows with my sword, that nothing will be known of Roland on the field, and no one will say one word about him."

Then the emperor had the horns sounded, and the Franks put on their armour, and he went over the bridge. And he gave the standard to duke Samson. Then there were seen so many gonfanons uplifted, so many straight lances and so many pennons streaming in the air, that God never created a man who could number them. And the active young esquires<sup>1</sup> fixed themselves firmly in their saddles,<sup>2</sup> boasting, the one to the other, of dealing mighty blows to the Saracens. In front of the army went the seven hundred knights, whom Belisent maintained in food and raiment at her sole charge.

A good bowshot in front of them rode Otuel on his horse Flori. He was well and securely equipped at all points.<sup>3</sup> His robe of honour<sup>4</sup> was of very fine silk. It weighed not four leaves of a psalter, though small its volume. Neither was a man born who could estimate its value. For neither fire nor iron could harm it. And he who had but the weight of a penny of it, no matter how great the wound or the blow he received, would feel all sound and active.<sup>5</sup> It was Belisent, the daughter of Charles, who gave it to him, as also to Gwalter of Orleans, his ensign.

At the outlet of the fishpond<sup>6</sup> Roland met him, and Otuel assailed him with mocking words, "Sire", said he, "comest thou from fishing? Dost thou intend to eat all the

<sup>1</sup> "Y gweisson ieueinc"; Fr. T. "bacheler".

<sup>2</sup> "Ymgadarnhau yny gwarthafieu"; Fr. T. "forment s'afichent".

<sup>3</sup> "Yn gyweir o arueu diogel"; Fr. T. "bien est armé".

<sup>4</sup> "Cwnsaltt"; Middlehill MS. "ses cunnuissances"; Vatican MS. "ses armes".

<sup>5</sup> Middlehill MS. :—

"Bien est armé à lei de chevalier  
Ses cunnuissances sunt d'un paille cursier,  
Ne paisent mie quatre fuilz d'un saltier,  
N'est mie nez quis péust alegier;  
Kar feu ne flamme nes poet damager  
E cil qui at le pesant d'un denier,  
Tant nes péusse naverer ne blescier  
Ke ne se sente tut sein e tut legier."—Fr. T., p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> "Over pysgotlyn"; Fr. T. "l'issir d'un viver".

paynims thyself?<sup>1</sup> There is still enough of them both for me and for thee to nibble at them.<sup>2</sup> Come back now. Thou canst forthwith bring vengeance upon them for what they have done thee.”

Help came to Roland and Oliver when the need was most urgent. The paynims were then hastening their doom. Thereupon Otuel pricked Flori with his spurs, and brandished his lance and smote Eucomber, a Saracen, through his shield and all his armour and body. And he fell down dead in the middle of the road. [W.T.  
p. 54.]

Estut de Lengres made a dash at a paynim named Clater. And neither shield nor coat of mail could protect him from death. He smote him down dead. “Monjoie”, he cried, and he bade his companions be brave and fight. And they did so. They fought as bravely as they could.

Lo, then was heard great tumult and clamour and the waving of standards. A great battle was about to ensue, many lances were broken, many shields pierced, many coats of mail torn to pieces, many Saracens smitten and killed, so that God never created a man who could number them.

And thereupon Englers went from point to point along the line of battle, seeking the Saracens, with his lance broken and his sword unsheathed in his hand. And he saw Clamados, the paynim who ruled over Numieland, who had smitten Reiner of Melan down, and he was seizing his horse. He told him that he would cause him grief and sorrow ere he could take his horse. And he dealt him a blow on his helmet with his full force and clave him down to his teeth. His body fell down dead and his soul went to hell.<sup>3</sup>

Thereupon came another Saracen to him, Galatas by name, the man who ruled over the land called Tyre the Great. And he shewed great boldness and daring before his companions. He lowered his lance and directed it towards the earl and spurred his horse. And he smote Englers on his shield and cut off a good handbreadth. The lance slipped under the saddle and God defended him that his flesh was not touched. However, he could not hold him-

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. “Sire Rollans, venez vos de peschier ?

Quidez vos sul les paienz tuz mangier ?”—p. 39, vv. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T. “Et moi et vos i aurons à rungier”, p. 39, v. 14.

<sup>3</sup> “Uffern”, from Lat. “inferna”.

self in the stirrup nor abide in the saddle, but down he fell for good or evil. And Galatas said with a loud voice, "Thief", in that he took the glory of the glove<sup>1</sup> from him.<sup>2</sup>

[W.T.,  
p. 55.] And thereupon, as Englers still tarried among the forces after his shield had fallen from his neck (as the author of the book says), he mounted again on the back of his horse when Talot, a Saracen, who had killed more than a thousand men since he was dubbed knight, and with him sixty other Saracens, spurred towards him and smote him down a second time with their lances. And others shot at him with barbed arrows and diamond-pointed javelins, and most severely was he wounded that day. His coat of mail was pierced in thirty places. It was no wonder then that he received severe blows and pains. Nevertheless he received no wound that made him much the worse for it. If he could mount his horse, how he would bury his sword in the heads of the Saracens and smite off the heads of the strongest of them. Then on their return<sup>3</sup> came Isoret, Gwalter of Lyons, David,<sup>4</sup> Girard of Orleans, and Bertolo the bearded, and each of them prepared to smite dexterously with his sword. "Monjoie," they cried, and they pressed the paynims back until Englers was mounted on his horse.

Thereupon Isoret and Talot met together and dealt each a blow on the other's shield that they broke their lances, pierced their breast plates,<sup>5</sup> and turned the points of their lances on their coats of mail. Saddle, stirrup, and reins<sup>6</sup> availed them nought, so that they both fell down together. Quickly they rose up and drew their bright shining swords and dealt heavy blows on their jewelled helmets. And so they would have gone on fighting on the field until the end of it would be known, had not the crowd disturbed them.<sup>7</sup>

Gwalter of Lyons attacked Armagot,<sup>8</sup> a paynim, with a spear, and with the first blow smote him down dead, and

<sup>1</sup> "Vanec"="maneg", from Lat. "manica".

<sup>2</sup> According to *Karl. Saga*, Galatas' betrothed had given him her glove, that morning, as a love-token.

<sup>3</sup> "Ar yr ymchoel"; Fr. T. "à la resconusse", p. 40, v. 18.

<sup>4</sup> For "Danyd" read "Dauyd", so *Karl. Saga*.

<sup>5</sup> "Quireu"; Fr. T. "cuers"; E. "cuirass".

<sup>6</sup> "Avwyneu"="afwynau"; from Lat. "habena".

<sup>7</sup> Fr. T. "Ne fust la presse qui les a desevez", p. 41, v. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. T. "à Margot".



the devils immediately snatched his soul. And the Franks kept on bravely killing their enemies, cutting the heads of some, the shoulders of others, and about the ribs of others. Not but that there was enough smiting on all other parts, so that the most active<sup>1</sup> of them was tired enough, and the very bravest was satisfied; and the whole field was red with the blood of the slain.

Thereupon Erapates, a Turk,<sup>2</sup> who had under him the horse of Floriant, from a city of India the great,<sup>3</sup> spurred, and came to Clarel. And holding him by the bridle he addressed him thus:—"Sire", said he, "we fare no better than before." "On my oath", said Clarel, "I will now shew my full power, unless we are hindered by the water." And they spurred their horses and went towards the Franks. [W.T.  
p. 56.]

And Clarel called out their war cry,<sup>4</sup> and at this sign came to them paynims, Moors, and Persians, and those from Arabia, until there were at least a hundred of them, and not one of them but possessed a good lance, a Turkish bow,<sup>5</sup> or a sharp javelin. And they compelled the Franks to retire half the flight of an arrow from a strong cross-bow.<sup>6</sup> And Clarel smote Droon, a German,<sup>7</sup> through his shield, his coat of mail, and all his armour, and through his body, and he fell down dead in the midst of the Franks.

Erapater, with great fury, struck Girard of Orleans with his sword on his helmet, so that his brains and eyes gushed out of his head. And after he had slain him he went away from him galloping his horse.<sup>8</sup> Thereupon Otuel, with naked sword in his right hand and shield on his shoulder, went to waylay him. And Erapater turned his horse's head towards him and with fury dealt him a blow that he

<sup>1</sup> For "y gysdickaf" read "yr ystigaf".

<sup>2</sup> For "Cwrc" read "Twrc".

<sup>3</sup> Fr. T. "Arapater, .i. Turc de Floriant  
Une cité de la Inde la grant."

<sup>4</sup> "Ar naimawnt eu harwyd hwy"; *Karl. Saga* "nu kallar hann merke that het Nanant". Fr. T. "En haut s'escrie s'enseigne mes-créant". See W. T., p. 47. For note on *Naimawnt* see p. 140, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> For "vwa cwrtois" read "vwa twrcois"; cf. *Karl. Saga*, "boga Tyrkneska", and Fr. T. "arc turquois".

<sup>6</sup> "Hanner ergit saeth mawr"; Fr. T. "plus de demi arpent".

<sup>7</sup> For "Droy vn or almaen" read "Droon or almaen"; cf. "Dromer of Alemaine", E. Otu., stanza 130.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. T. "Quant il l'ot mort, si s'en va galopant", p. 42.

cut through his shield and his helmet. And strong were the other parts of the armour so that he cut none of them. However, he broke his own sword in drawing it to him. Otuel smote him with all his might, and with one blow clave all that met his sword from the top of the helmet down to his heart. And he fell down dead, and he commended his soul to the devils, and to him he said, "Cousins we were, and therefore gave I thee so great and good a blow as that."

*The Conflict between Clarel and Otuel.*

And then was Clarel in battle. And he perceiving his people killed and severely wounded in all directions, made a furious dash among the Franks and thereupon killed Richart d'Eglent, Guarin d'Angiers, Hugon de Clarvent, and Helis, and he went away from the forces a victor not having lost the value of a spur. And he sounded "Graisle" his horn<sup>1</sup> to rally<sup>2</sup> his people and to call them to him. And not more than a hundred of them were found. And these fled towards the city as best they could. And the Franks pursued them furiously, endeavouring to kill them as they were wont often to do previously.

[W.T.,  
p. 57.]

The paynims then, however, escaped successfully under a rock, called the rock of the ships,<sup>3</sup> and there they met with the people from the court<sup>4</sup> of the Emperor Garsi.

Twenty thousand of the corrupt<sup>5</sup> race were coming to their aid. Then there would have been, without fail, a battle, had it not been that the day was ended, and the hour for compline<sup>6</sup> passed, and that the night hindered them.

And then Clarel laid down his shield and unloosed the laces which held his coat of mail about his neck, and with a loud voice he said to Otuel, "Who art thou?" said he, "May Mahomet curse thee. Tell me thy name that I also may tell it to Garsi." Said the Christian in reply, "I will not hide it from thee. I am Otuel the son of King Galien,

<sup>1</sup> "Grasle y gorn"; Fr. T. "Sone ses grelles"; "graisle"=M. Fr. "grêle"=horn.

<sup>2</sup> "I reoli"; Fr. T. "por ralier".

<sup>3</sup> "Carrec y llogeu"; Fr. T. "une roche naïe".

<sup>4</sup> "Niuer llys"; Fr. T. "la mesnie".

<sup>5</sup> "Y genedl undur", vide W. T., bottom of p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> "Pryt cwmpli"; Fr. T. "la complie". *Compline* is the last prayer at night, to be said after sunset.

and my mother's name was Die.<sup>1</sup> I have been baptized and have ceased from my folly. And Charles, the king of the Franks, has given me Lombardy, and his daughter Belisent to wife. And therefore never as long as I live<sup>2</sup> will I love a Saracen."

"What a very surprising thing I hear now," said Clarel. "And didst thou then renounce thy faith?" said he. And he railed at him in this wise, "Thou hast drunk a hot draught out of the pool with which doctors mix stone to make their medicinal potions, and this has made thee mad.<sup>3</sup> Come back, even now, I counsel thee, beloved companion, and make amends to Mahomet for an offence so great as thou hast committed against him by renouncing him and his law, and I will make peace between thee and Garsi, and will myself give the half of the kingdom of Almarie."

"Be assured, that is what I will never do," said Otuel. "And may the curse of God<sup>4</sup> abide on all your company. And by my faith I have in the Lady Mary if I may take thee or the Emperor Garsi, I will hold him above the pit of Gacanie."<sup>5</sup>

And Clarel said, "Thou speakest as a fool of him who is the best of all the paynims. And how full is thy heart of iniquity and wrath! Nevertheless I am prepared", said he, "to maintain against thee, provided there be only one against one, that thy baptism, the Christianity thou hast embraced, the mass intoned by thy priest and the oblation he offers, are not worth a single pea as compared with our law, and that Mahomet is better than the son of the Lady Mary."

Then Otuel replied to him, "Clarel", said he, "the [W.T., p. 58.] devils have taken full possession of thee. And if it be thy wish to defend Mahomet against me, make sure of this—that their anger rest not on thee.<sup>6</sup> For I myself will

<sup>1</sup> "Die"; *Karl. Saga* "en mother min het Dia"; Fr. T. "Ludie", p. 44, v. 15.

<sup>2</sup> "Ymbuw"; Fr. T. "en ma vie".

<sup>3</sup> "Ath ynuydawd"; Fr. T. "enchanté es", p. 44, v. 22; "Fouilly there thou wiche de was", E. Sir Ott., stanza 96.

<sup>4</sup> "Oer wasgar"; Fr. T. "mal dehez", p. 45, v. 6.

<sup>5</sup> "Pwll gacanie"; *Karl. Saga* "Tha skal ek hengja ykkir vith in hæsta gálga in dalnum Gatanie". "Pwll gacanie" may stand for "pwll *coginio*" (roasting pit). Cf. Fr. T. "Que ne te pende en haut, comme une espie".

<sup>6</sup> Fr. T. "Fai moi séur qu' il ne remaigne en toi", p. 45, v. 23.

defend God and the Catholic Faith." To that the Saracen raised his hand in assent. And he himself pledged his troth faithfully that he would not delay without coming to the battle.

Then Clarel and his people entered the city, and Otuel, together with the Franks, returned to the meadow, and there they formed quarters, encamped and pitched their tents. And they kindled a fire and buried the dead with honour, and made the doctors attend the wounded.<sup>1</sup>

To the tent of Charles came Otuel, and Duke Neimus held his stirrup while he dismounted. And the princess searched his ribs on both sides lest he might have received wound or blow that might cause him future trouble. And when he was disarmed she kissed him thrice. And then said Charles to him, "My godson", said he, "thou hast a gracious mistress." "Sire", said he, "to God be the praise for it. And that will be the ransom<sup>2</sup> of the paynims ere summer is ended."

And that night the men of Burgundy and Germany kept watch over them. And Charles and his host slept securely that night. And in like manner the Saracens, on their part, kept watch. And they kept sounding their horns and shouting until after sunrise on the morrow.

Clarel, nevertheless, rose up as the day began to cast forth its bright beams. And he went out of his chamber to don his armour. And Ganor of Montbrant and Melions, and Apolin the great, a man not wanting in stature—he was four feet higher than a giant<sup>3</sup>—went to equip him.<sup>4</sup> First of all they put on him a double coat of mail which in their opinion no weapon could break, or separate one ring from another. However, if Otuel could come so near to him that he might smite him with Curceus, his coat of mail would be no security to him for his life. On his head

<sup>1</sup> "Leches come that couthe one booke  
Woundede men for to loke  
to salue tham of thaire sare."

*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 99.

<sup>2</sup> "Prit"; Fr. T. "Comparront".

<sup>3</sup> "Mwy oed arnod pedeir gweith no chawr"; *Karl. Saga* "hann var four fotum hæri en risi".

<sup>4</sup> "A vuant wrth wisgaw dano"; "wrth" = Lat. "ut"; cf. "yr archescyb a elwit yr llys wrth wisgaw y goron ar ben y brenhin", "Ystorya Bren y Bryt", *Bruts*, p. 201; ("archipraesules ad palatium ducuntur ut regem diademate regali coronarent", Geoffrey's *Hist. Brit.*, Lib. ix, cap. 13, p. 133).

they put the helmet of King Briant, made neither of iron, nor steel, nor wood, nor silver, but solely of a serpent's head.<sup>1</sup> And engraved on it were Jupiter, Tervagant, and Mahomet in the form of a golden youth. These were their gods and on them they continually called, and to them they prayed. And through those he thought to escape scathless out of battle. And then about his neck they placed a strong and heavy shield, with no wood in it, throughout of dressed leather. Eighteen broad-headed nails of pure gold adorned the circle of its boss. And then they brought him a stout lance and on it a standard of red satin finely embroidered.<sup>2</sup> [W.T., p. 59.]

*Charles and Clarel.*

And the Emperor Charles also rose up early. And he went for recreation<sup>3</sup> and to take the air along the banks of the river called Toon. And some of the high barons of his court were with him in privacy.<sup>4</sup> Roland was there, and Duke Neimus, and Oliver, and Otuel.

And thereupon Clarel asked them, while he was still standing in the stream, "Who of you will come from there? Is the hoary-headed Charles there with you?"

And the emperor replied, "Yes, prince", said he, "I am King Charles. And what dost thou want with me?"

"I will tell thee", said Clarel, "Alack the day thou wert ever born,<sup>5</sup> and may the curse of God rest upon the parents who caused thee to be born unto the world, for the greatness of the pain thou art continually inflicting upon those of our law, oppressing and despoiling them. That will not go unavenged upon thee. Now thy crown and all that appertains to it, and thy sceptre, will be given to the bravest knight that was ever born, namely, to Florient of Sulie. Henceforth he shall be king in France."

<sup>1</sup> "His creste was of a neddere hede." E. Sir Ott., stanza 101.

<sup>2</sup> The translator of the *Otuel-Song* in *Karl. Saga* evidently had the same original before his eye as the translator of the W. T. The description of the various equipments is almost word for word in both versions.

<sup>3</sup> "Ychware." For "chware" see Zeuss, p. 1056, Ox. i, (Ov.) 38<sup>a</sup>; Fr. T. "deporter".

<sup>4</sup> "Yn ysgynaelach"; Fr. T. "O lui de ses privez", p. 47, v. 5; Lat. "secrete", W. T., p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> "Gwaethiroed duw eiryoet dy eni"; Fr. T. "Je mandi l'oure que tu fuz onques nez", p. 47, v. 14; For note on the words, see p. 120, note 2; cf. W. T., p. 30.

Said the king in reply, "Too much hast thou said, paynim, and well hast thou been taught to deride. Nevertheless the land, the brave men and the caparisoned horses are still mine. I have already taken fifteen kings, and have subdued them by my power. And I verily promise thee on my faith that these forces shall not leave me until I have taken Garsi, and both subdued and destroyed his city."

[W.T. p. 60.] And then Clarel said, "The devils in thee caused thee to utter these words. Thou canst never more do that. Too many already hast thou destroyed of them and forced to the faith. For thy head betimes is grey, and so also thy beard, and thou hast made an end of doing brave deeds. Henceforth no battle will be fought for thy sake, no shield broken, and what hast thou betimes but a breast-bone? In sooth they ought to smite thee dead with an old pan."<sup>1</sup>

The king was very much mortified and angry at these words. And he looked at the Franks around him, and he bade Gaudin sharply to bring him his armour.

And then Otuel said to him, "Sire", said he, "moderate thy wrath, and for my love recall thy mind. For I have pledged my troth to fight with him. And I wish thee to listen to me. It is I who maintain that Mahomet ought not to be honoured. He hears not, he sees not. And if the devil is alive in hell, he is with the other devils. All his power and might are not worth three empty egg shells.<sup>2</sup> And to the devils commend I that dead body. And he maintains that neither our Christianity nor our baptism is worth more. And by the baptism I received and the faith I have embraced, unless thou wilt grant me this battle, I will henceforth never more love thee."

"By this glove", said the king, "I grant it thee." And he held out the glove to him. "And may He strengthen thee, Who for us suffered pain on the cross."

And then Clarel understood that their words were confirmed, and he said to him angrily, "O deceiver, why didst thou renounce Mahomet and the faith and the holy law which it was necessary for thee to observe, by whom

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. "Pieça déusses estre à i pel tuez", p. 48, v. 8; "padell", from Lat. "patella".

<sup>2</sup> W. T., "tri wy piledic"; Fr. T. "Tot son pooir ne vaut, ii aux pelez", p. 48, v. 24.

he who serves him shall attain to the recompense of it—to the supreme joy of the place where we all shall go. And he who serves him well shall go to Paradise without let or hindrance. Your God whom ye call Jesus will be taken and cast into prison as a thief and traitor. And thou thyself shall be cast into the slough of hell,<sup>1</sup> where thieves are wont to lie. After that no escape will ever be possible to thee. Go, quickly, don thine armour, and I will call thee a thief, and one worthy of death.”

“And I”, said Otuel, “will defend myself against thee.”

And the courteous Franks then led Otuel under an olive tree to equip him. First, Roland put on him a good double coat of mail, and on his head he then placed the helmet of King Galier, who conquered Babilon in battle. Oliver girded his sword Curcens to his thigh, and placed a strong and beautiful shield on his neck. And Estut of Lengres brought him the lance and the banner of King Lear. The point of the lance was good and bright, and its shaft was of laurel wood.

Droon of Mont d'Eidyr fixed his spurs on his feet, and Belisent held his horse, and she kissed him thrice. And he then mounted his horse and addressed her: “O gentle lady,<sup>2</sup> I go now to avenge the blood of our Lord, and to uphold His faith, and to cover with shame and confusion the faithless paynims, and thy love shall they buy most dearly.” “Sire”, said she, “may God, Who can strengthen thee, be thy defence.” And to the Archbishop he went to receive his blessing, and to be sprinkled with holy water.<sup>3</sup>

*The Duel between Otuel and Clarel.*

And then Otuel departed from his host, and he raised his lance on his shoulder and passed through the water. And Clarel came to meet him. And he addressed him with a loud voice in this wise, “Traitor and robber”, said he, “renounce thy faith, and if thou wilt not, evil betide thee coming to me<sup>4</sup> into the field to be killed and cut limb from limb in a shameful manner. And after that thy people will avail thee nought.”

<sup>1</sup> “Sybwl uffern”; Fr. T. “Souz Tartarie”, p. 49, v. 10.

<sup>2</sup> “Unbennes uonhedic”; Fr. T. “Dame”.

<sup>3</sup> “Dwfwr swyn”; Fr. T. “eve saintisme”. “Swyn” from Lat. “signum”. “Dwfr swyn” = water *signed* with the *sign* of the cross.

<sup>4</sup> W. T. “kam yw it kyrchu attaf”; Fr. T. “Mar i passastes”.

"Dost thou still think that Mahomet ought to be called God, and that all the world ought to serve and honour him for ever and ever? And that he can never be put to shame on the cross?"

"I do so", said Clarel, "and as for Him to Whom thou hast gone, Who was born of the woman in Bethlehem, compared with Mahomet, He is not worth a spur."

"By Heavens",<sup>1</sup> said Otuel, "thou liest, infernal traitor, and I will fight and will vanquish thee and thus shew that Jesus has all the power, and that none save He ought to be called God. Dishonour and disgrace will come to Mahomet and all his crew, and to thee also for praying thus to Him. And by the Lord who suffered on the cross, if thou wilt wait for me, I will deal thee a blow with my sword Curceus, that thou shalt fall by it."

And then Otuel spurred the Arab horse that was under him, and Clarel likewise his horse, Turnevent,<sup>2</sup> and both dashed into the fray. Each smote the other through his shield and all his armour until their coats of mail stopped their lances. Time after time they charged at each other, and laboured angrily endeavouring each to smite the other down. Finally fixing themselves firmly in the saddle, they made a rush at each other, and each smote the other so that their girths broke and their breast bands, and they both fell to the ground.

[W. T.,  
p. 62.]

Roland thereupon smiled and said to Belisent, "So help me God, for amusement<sup>3</sup> not worse is this attack than a sweet melody sung, or played on harp or pipe."

"Lord God", said Belisent in reply, "how bitter and sad is my heart, fearing for him I love the best. To God and the Lady Mary do I commend him."

The paynims also rode up to them and cried with a loud voice, and prayed Mahomet to defend the paynim from the Christian. And then Clarel drew Melle his sword and Otuel likewise Curceus his sword, and they attacked each other furiously. And they dealt heavy blows on their helmets until fire flew from them and from their swords, and it kindled the grass in the field as if a big consuming fire<sup>4</sup> had been put under it. The Saracen

<sup>1</sup> "Y rof a Duw"; lit. "between me and God".

<sup>2</sup> Middlehill MS. "E. Clarel broche son destrier Turnevent." See Fr. T., p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> "Herwyd digrifweh."

<sup>4</sup> "Godeith"; Fr. T. "Li feus en saut sus l'erbe verdoiant", p. 51, v. 25.



was bold and very brave. He raised Melle on high and struck Otuel on his helmet. However, he could not break it in the least, because of its hardness. Nevertheless, so great was the blow that it brought Otuel down on his knees.

"O Lady Mary",<sup>1</sup> cried Charles, "protect thy gentle knight, who is fighting to maintain thy law and uphold the Catholic faith."

Thereupon Otuel jumped up nimbly and held his shield in front before him, and dealt Clarel a consummate blow so that he smote off the fourth part of his helmet and hood of double mail and also his face, so that his teeth showed white in his mouth. And he said to him, "By God", said he, "thus ought a man to exchange, by giving a halfpenny for a penny and a heavy blow for a box on the ear."<sup>3</sup> Thou art now like a fellow grinning. Alphanie will no longer need thee and will not have thee, and thou wilt never more find a maid to kiss thee."

Then the Saracen knew that he had been shamefully and severely wounded, and that never more would he [W. T.,  
p. 63.] be a peer in court. And Melle being in his hand with its hilt of gold, he dealt Otuel a blow with it. Would that God of His own goodness would defend him as Charles and all his barons besought Him!

Otuel, however, was not frightened<sup>4</sup> at that. More bold was he than a lion which had been bound nine meal-times without food. He put his shield on his head, and Clarel smote it like a madman,<sup>5</sup> and he cut through his shield and the helmet all of gold to the hood of mail.<sup>6</sup> And if that had not been so strong, never more would he be challenged to fight. Nevertheless, so much did he press on the hood of mail that the blood gushed out through the rings.<sup>7</sup>

"By my faith", said Otuel, "that blow went much too far. I see now that thou dost not love me at all. By the Lady Mary I will repay it to the same degree unless more

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. "Sainte Marie".

<sup>2</sup> "Lletneis"; Fr. T. "cortois".

<sup>3</sup> Fr. T. "Dit Otinel: Issi doit on changier

Cop por colée, maille por denier."—p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> "Arneigio"; Fr. T. "espoentez", p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> "Ual dyn y maes oe synnwyr"; Fr. T. "Com hom desmesurez".

<sup>6</sup> "Ar helym ac aoed oll [o aur] hyt y pennlluruc." So amend the text after the French, "L'elme li fent qui est à or gemmez, Jusqu' à la coife", etc., Fr. T., p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. T. "Parmi la bouche li est le sanc volez", p. 53, v. 5.

be acceptable; and, unless thou defendest thyself, more still, so that no doctor can doctor thee."

And then Otuel rolled his eyes with rage, and he dealt him a heavy blow with Curceus and smote him through the helmet, all his armour, and his body, and right through his heart. And the sword up to the embossed parts<sup>1</sup> came in contact with the earth. And the body, in that it could no longer stand, fell down dead, and his soul went to hell, crying and cursing Mahomet, his lord.

And Otuel said, "Monjoie, my fame will henceforth spread abroad.<sup>2</sup> Because of my love for Belisent, woe be to the paynims."

For that encounter, joyful were the victorious Franks, and sad and sorrowful the Saracens.<sup>3</sup>

*Garsi enters the list and is made prisoner.*

The tidings came immediately to King Garsi that the Saracen Clarel had been vanquished and slain, and thereupon he was filled with anger. Never before felt he so sad. And he made lamentation for him, "O Clarel, what a sad thing it is for me to lose thee. And he who slew thee hath made me sad at heart. O Alfanie, my child, never shalt thou find such love as his. And if I will not avenge him, then regard me as not worth a straw."<sup>4</sup>

And he took his horn Ducleoi and blew it mightily, and seven thousand other horns<sup>5</sup> responded to it. And by means of those horns twenty thousand<sup>6</sup> of the paynims were brought together, and with these they formed the vanguard,<sup>7</sup> and of those in the rear no reckoning was ever made nor of those behind them.<sup>8</sup> And they were all threatening the hoary-headed Charles, and Roland and his companion Oliver.

And then Charles also assembled his host, and as one

<sup>1</sup> "Cloyneu."

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T. "Monjoie escrie hautement en oiant", p. 53, v. 21.

<sup>3</sup> The Otuel-Story in both *Karl. Saga* and *K. K. K.* ends here.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. T. "Si ne te venge, ne me prise un festu", p. 55, v. 3.

<sup>5</sup> "Seith mil o gyrn"; Fr. T. "Plus de iiii<sup>m</sup>".

<sup>6</sup> "Ugein mil"; Fr. T. "xxx<sup>m</sup>".

<sup>7</sup> "Y vydyn vlaen"; Fr. T. "premerain".

<sup>8</sup> "Ar *Iarll* a vei yn ol o hynny ny riuit vyth yu *iarll* wedy hynny." This gives no meaning in this connection. For "*iarll*" read "*lleill*"—"ar *lleill* a vei yn ol o hynny ny riuit vyth na'r *lleill* wedi hynny"—as Fr. T. "Del *cels* derier n'i a *conte* tenu. Tant en i a ainc tant n'en fu véu."

well versed in fighting he put them in battle array, and formed them in columns. They were, at the least estimate, twenty thousand strong.<sup>1</sup> And Roland was set in command of the van, the column composed of Franks, men who would fight of their own accord, and would subdue the paynims in a right worthy fashion.

After the emperor had arrayed his forces, and had equipped each man as he himself could wish, he mounted a high and swift<sup>2</sup> horse, and fixed himself firmly in the saddle. And he called Neimus, and said to him, smiling,<sup>3</sup> "Gentle duke", said he, "bring me my lance. A hundred such services hast thou rendered me. And I will repay thee according to thine own desire. I will give thee the horse upon which thou hast for so long set thine heart, and I will make thee lord of seven strong castles which I give thee by this glove.<sup>4</sup> And as witness for thee in this matter take Earl Guinemant, Rotolt of Berche, and Geoffrey of Normandy."

"Sire", said he, "I accept it, and accept it in such a way that thou shalt not lose anything by it."

Thereupon the Franks set out in columns as they were. And Otuel went and equipped himself anew. And Belisent brought him a new helmet and shield. Gerin of Saint Omer, Fromont of Artois, and Guarin of Montcler, went with him to put on<sup>5</sup> his armour.

Thereupon he remounted his horse and took a lance with a conspicuous banner in his hand to encourage the Franks, and he called on all to blow their horns. And this they did, both loud and clear, and they began to march towards Atalie.<sup>6</sup>

The paynims also assembled their forces and came to meet the Franks. No one, however, could estimate their number, save that at the least they numbered a hundred for every one of the Christians.<sup>7</sup> And Garsi raised his

<sup>1</sup> Fr. T. "A xx<sup>m</sup>. homes est la menor esmée", p. 55, v. 18.

<sup>2</sup> "Ymdeithic"; Fr. T. "corant".

<sup>3</sup> "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "en oiant", not as usually, "en riant".

<sup>4</sup> "Gan y ranec hon"; Fr. T. "par cest gant", p. 56, v. 2. The glove was employed in olden times as a symbol. To throw down the glove was a challenge. To tender the glove was a sign of submission. To extend the glove was to put anyone in possession of property, office, or mission.

<sup>5</sup> "Wrth" = Lat. "ut".

<sup>6</sup> "Parth ac Atalie"; Fr. T. "Vers la bataille commencent à aler."

<sup>7</sup> Fr. T. "A i des noz en puet on iii conter", p. 56, v. 24.

standard on high. And the paynims said, "Let us go and break our lances on their shields and joust with them."

[W. T.,  
p. 65.]

And in front<sup>1</sup> went the esquires<sup>2</sup> of France, young and active,<sup>3</sup> and as many as wished to hold land there were to acquire it at the points of their lances and swords. Then could all of them make manifest their bravery and their prowess. And they said, "The field is ours. Easily can we vanquish them."

And for a short time before the encounter they all, both Franks and Saracens, rode furiously. A Saracen of Turkey, called Marchides, came forth out of the host<sup>4</sup> and asked leave<sup>5</sup> of King Garsi to kill with the first blow Roland, or Oliver, or Otuel, whichever he met first. None other would he seek. He was mounted on a jet black horse as full of spirit as the knight could wish. He was fully equipped with costly armour.<sup>6</sup> And his robe of honour<sup>7</sup> was similar to that of Ordivant. All his armour, and his horse Aligot, were covered all over with black sendal so that nothing of them was visible. Fastened to his arm was a brass staff,<sup>8</sup> which the daughter of Corsabres,<sup>9</sup> a king from the East, gave him that morning with a smile. And for love of the maiden, he entered the fray with such daring and energy that he lost his life ere the midday horn was sounded in the city. In his hand he grasped a straight and firm lance, tipped with a broad, keen, glittering head, and with its glorious pennon streaming in the air, secured to the lance with four silver nails. He pricked his horse with his spurs, and came towards the Franks. And he raised his voice on high, and said, "Where art thou Roland? To-day, again, will I make thee very sad. I will fight with thee, provided there be only I and thou, and thus shew that Frankland belongs to us, that Garsi is duly king of it, and of all kings, and

<sup>1</sup> "Racdu"; Fr. T. "avant".

<sup>2</sup> "Ygweisson yeuneinc"; Fr. T. "bachelor"—those who have not yet been knighted.

<sup>3</sup> "Amysgawn"; Fr. T. "legier".

<sup>4</sup> "Neilltuwys . . . y wrth y llu"; Fr. T. "de l'ost se part", p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> "Erchi . . . y uanec"; Fr. T. "a demandé le gant", "he askede leue at Sir Garcy there." E. Sir Ott., stanza 114.

<sup>6</sup> "Arueu mawrweirthawc"; Fr. T. "de chieres armes".

<sup>7</sup> "Cwnsalt"; Fr. T. "drap de soie".

<sup>8</sup> "Ffon bres oed wrth y vreich"; Fr. T. "D'une manche ot i gofanon pendant", p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> "Verch corsabres vrenhin"; Fr. T. "La fille al roi Garsande".

that Charles will not have any part or parcel of it. And come thou quickly to defend it against me if thou canst."

When Roland heard this he was moved with rage, and his countenance changed.<sup>1</sup> And he lifted his lance on his shoulder, put his shield in front, and spurred his horse against the Turk. Doubtless then there would be an encounter between the two knights. The forces on both sides were coming together. The most timid of the Franks wished to be in the front to witness the combat.

Thereupon Marchides made an attack on Roland and pierced him with his lance through the boss<sup>2</sup> of his shield, and through all his armour and apparel as far as his shirt, and so that he lost the stirrup of his right foot,<sup>3</sup> and he put his mark on him.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless this availed him nought, for he snapped his lance. And Roland smote him with his full force above the front saddle-bow,<sup>5</sup> so that neither the staff he had for love, nor his coat of mail, nor any other part of his armour, availed him a single straw. The lance pierced his breastbone and clave his heart asunder, and he fell down dead. And Roland cried loudly, "Monjoie!" and tersely remarked, so that the paynims could hear, "I knew thee for certain", said he, "and I knew that never in France wouldest thou hold a court.<sup>6</sup> Charles is rightfully king, and to him belongs the land, and thou hast lost it."

[W.T.,  
p. 66.]

"By Mahomet", said Moafle, a paynim, "we have lost this knight also, and may I be killed unless I avenge him."

And Moafle made an attack<sup>7</sup> on Oliver, and the Count spurred his horse Fauel towards him. And the Saracen dealt him a heavy blow, so that his shield was bent and broken, and he smote off at least a hundred rings of his double hauberk and caused the blood to run down to the ground out of his side.

And thereupon Oliver, in pain and anger, smote him, and neither shield, nor coat of mail, nor any other part of

<sup>1</sup> "Symudwys annwyt a lliw o lit"; Fr. T. "si taint de mautalant", p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> "Bogel"; Fr. T. "la boucle".

<sup>3</sup> Fr. T. "Le destre estrier li a du pié tolu", p. 58, v. 18.

<sup>4</sup> "A dot not arnaw ynteu"; Fr. T. "enpainted le bien".

<sup>5</sup> "Y goryf vlaen"; "Coryf". For derivation see Loth *sub voce*; Fr. T. "desouz la boucle".

<sup>6</sup> "Cynhelit dadlen." For "dadlen" cf. "dadleudy" (court of justice). Fr. T. "plet tenu", p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> "Dwyn rhuthr"; Fr. T. "s'eslesse", p. 59, v. 3.

his armour, availed him the value of a penny, and thus he fell down dead.

"Monjoie!" he cried, and bade his fellow knights henceforth deal noble blows.

And then the Franks, the men of Lamer, of Loringes, of Almaen, of Puer, of Normandy, of Firks, of Flanders, and of Berner, measured their swords with the paynims. And the Christians had great joy, and caused tumult in lowering the banners of the faithless.

The daring young esquires of free choice sought the front. No need was there then for the craven-hearted. They pierced the shields and tore the coats of mail, and made their lances red in their blood. Both barons and knights fell down dead. And their horses coursed furiously along the mountain. And the discreet young esquires caught plenty of them, and found them afterwards when their need of them was most urgent.

[W.T.,  
p. 67.]

And then, when the two armies joined in battle, forthwith they snapped their lances. They then drew their swords and dealt hard blows, and broke the glittering helmets and the gold-embroidered<sup>1</sup> coats of mail. And they fell down, some writhing, desperately wounded, and shouting and lamenting bitterly, others dead, lying with mouths open, a thousand at least of them, having their heads separated from their bodies so that no man ever could put them together again.

Then from the standard of the Saracens a thousand men of Barbary advanced,<sup>2</sup> not one of whom but had on a double hauberk, a shield on his shoulder, a helmet on his head, and in his hand a costly banner of purple—red, or white, or blue. And Prince Alphan, of Palestine, commanded them, and he had on him the ensign of King Lepatin. Against this battalion Angevins and the men of Poitou advanced. And the Saracens shot at them with cross-bows, with poisoned arrows, diamond headed and barbed. Thus also did the men of Garsarin, with the result that the faithful suffered great loss.

Thereupon Otuel fixed himself firmly in his saddle and brandished his lance, attached to which was a red pennon.

<sup>1</sup> "Llurugen *saffreit*."

<sup>2</sup> "Than kynge Alphane come in hye

With twenty thowsande of Barbarye,  
That wele couthe wapyns bere."

*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 121.

And to anger<sup>1</sup> King Lepatin he smote his cousin<sup>2</sup> Alphan through his shield, his coat of mail, and all his other armour, and also through his very body, so that he fell down dead. And with him Geoffrey le Morin, Hugo de Sois, and the two sons of Guarin attacked with spears. Geoffrey killed the unbelieving paynim who was attacking Ovaratrin. Hugo de Sois killed Blansadrin, his own opponent.<sup>3</sup> And Do wreaked vengeance upon the paynim who killed Guinemant of Suline. With one blow he smote him down dead in the presence of Lepatin. "Monjoie!" he cried, and called out to the men of Poitou and said to them, "Neither Saracen nor paynim", said he, "will fight against us now."

And thereupon King Corsabret came down the slope of the mountain, having with him ten thousand foot-soldiers<sup>4</sup> under the command of Barbed, a Saracen. And Earl Alaen advanced against them, having with him four hundred regular Bretons. And Hoens of Nantes advanced fully equipped to support them. And Mallo said to him, "O gentle knight, have no respect for them, rather deal heavy blows all round."

Gui of Gustange came to them with seven hundred [W.T., p. 68.] javelin men. Troians, a Breton, attacked Malfront, a paynim, with a spear. This man had four pairs of winged darts, and the best pointed of these he hurled with his full force, and pierced his shield, his coat of mail, and his old armour, and pierced him in his thigh, so that the dart went through him in its flight. And Troians, a man of proven worth for daring and valour, dealt him a blow that no shield, or coat of mail, or any other part of his armour, could hinder his lance from passing through him. And so he fell down dead over his horse's crupper.

<sup>1</sup> "Ac *afregi bod y lepatin vrenhin*." For the force of *af*- compare *aflan*, *aflawen*, *aflafar*. "Regi bod"=*rhyngu bodd*. "*Rhyngu bodd Duw*" (Heb. xi, 5, 6)=*placere Deo* (Vulg.), cf. "ac ef a *reghi bod idaw ef a anuones kwynwyr drwy holl roec*", *Ystorya Dared, Bruts*, p. 11 (Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans). ("Et *placuit ut per totam Graeciam conquisturi mitterentur*." Daretis Phrygii *Historia*, cap. xi.)

<sup>2</sup> "Sir Otnell that noble man,  
To his awenn cosin he ran."—*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 121.

<sup>3</sup> "Y *gythreul ynteu*", from Lat. "contrarius".

<sup>4</sup> "And the Kynge Cursabolee  
With thritty thousande of Turkee,  
And alle one fote thay were."

*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 121.

And thereupon King Corsabret saw this engagement, and he came across and attacked Troians. And he smote him under his breast right through, and clave his heart asunder. And the knight fell down dead. And may God receive his soul, for the end is come.

Thereupon came Earl Alaen full of wrath and bitterly lamenting Troians. This was no wonder in his case, seeing that he was his nephew, a son of his sister. And he would have avenged him fully upon Corsabret had not Barrett, a Saracen, appeared on the scene and gone between them. And the noble earl gave the reins to his horse and went towards him. And he brandished his diamond-headed lance and smote him through his shield set with precious stones and many golden nails, and through all his equipment, and through his body, so that he fell down dead. And he said to him, "Take that", said he, "it would have been better for thee hadst thou stayed in the rear."

Favourable was that day to them, and had not the dust and sand risen up after midday, and darkened between them and the air, the Christians would have prevailed. The Saracens were then riding furiously, and they blew their horns and beat loud-sounding drums, and with earnestness of mind<sup>1</sup> rushed into the fray and pressed the Franks back a good bow shot.<sup>2</sup> And not a shield-bearer among them, during that time, could look back even once.

Then Lambert of Venges was killed, and Roul of Belueis was wounded by two winged darts, and he did not live long. And then were killed Pestru, Gui of Custance, and Cubaut Orne, and many others with them, so that their loss to the Franks was never afterwards made good.<sup>3</sup>

Thereupon a squire of the Franks, named Amiret, came. He was a rich young knight, the son of the rich Troun of Paris, and his father was now dead. During the winter he had mustered together a hundred young knights, the oldest of whom was only fifteen years of age.<sup>4</sup> They took

<sup>1</sup> "O dihwyt eu bryt", cf. "ac ufudhau aoruc y brenhin oe holl dihwyt y hynny"; *Ystorya Brenhined, Bruts*, p. 179. ("Paruit itaque rex diligentem que animum adhibuit": Geoffrey's *Hist. Brit.*, Lib. viii, cap. 19, p. 117.)

<sup>2</sup> "Ane alblastire shott and mare."—*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 122.

<sup>3</sup> The Welsh text on pp. 67, 68, 69 is very uncertain, and the translation consequently reflects it, there being no other printed text with which to compare it.

<sup>4</sup> "Five hundred men with him he broughte  
Nas non *twenti* winter old."—*E. Otu.*, vv. 1447, 1449.



the armour of the slain and armed themselves with it. And of their fine linen they raised pennons.<sup>1</sup> And when they saw the Franks fleeing recklessly they met them and raised a shout all together, and made them return. And with very great force they compelled the paynims to retreat four times the space of a bow shot. And they smote them down brainless and dead, so that the field was full of them.

And King Corsabret was then resting near an old wall.<sup>2</sup> And he raised his battle cry, and bade the paynims rally to him. He put his shield in front and made for the Franks. And with all his might he fixed himself firmly in his saddle. His intention then was to cause great havoc among the Franks. Thereupon Amiret smote him on the top of his shield, and the blow glided off on the helmet and bent it in until it pressed on his eye and caused it intense pain. Indeed it nearly came out. And from the pain of the blow he became quite helpless.<sup>3</sup> And seeing that there was no one to help him, he gave himself up. Thereupon Amiret quickly took him, and called to him three young esquires, Gaudin, Sachet Unan, and Baldwin of Aigremont, and he said to them, "Noble esquires", said he, "take this king, and see that he be neither killed nor treated with disdain. And take him as a present from me to my lord, Charlemagne."

"Sire", said they in reply, "we will do what thou commandest with pleasure."

There were the Franks, who previously had been unhorsed, jousting bravely against the Saracen foot soldiers. A hundred of them, by the aid of the reinforcement, found their horses again. And then Hugo of Nantes turned his attention to Poldras.<sup>4</sup> The daring of this paynim was boundless, and he had come of a nation crafty and great in strength. He and all his fellows were come from the land called Damasgun. He inspired all the Saracen maidens who saw him with love for, and with desire towards him. Much evil did he also

<sup>1</sup> "Of thaire clothes pensalles thay made."—*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 123, v. 1474.

<sup>2</sup> "Magwyr", from Lat. "maceria".

<sup>3</sup> "Llibinaw", cf. W. T., p. 106, "yn llibin"; Fr. T. "estonez".

<sup>4</sup> Poldras is not found in any version except W. T. and E. Otu., vide Dr. Sachs' *Beiträge*, p. 31. "Poidras of Barbarin," E. Otu., v. 1487.

[W. T.,  
p. 70.]

that day to the Franks. However, lamentation bitter enough was made for him that night in the city. Hugo smote him with his sword on his helmet, and clave through all his armour and his body also, right to his shoulders.<sup>1</sup> And he then fell down dead, and all his pride and daring ceased. And Hugo called aloud his war cry, "Walso", and all the Bretons came back. Would to God that Otuel had been then with him! For had he been, he would have sought the standard of the men of Barbary, and the fighting in that direction of the field would have ceased with that. He was, however, not found there. For he was among the Turks, and thrice he went as far as their standard, and he smote off the heads of four kings in seeking it.<sup>2</sup>

Then King Garsi said to Heraperant, a paynim for whom God had no love, "My dear brother", said he, "I am very sad and sore for my barons whom Otuel killed, mine eyes beholding him slaying them. I shall die of anger and anguish unless I can hang him on high. Charlemagne does me wrong in taking possession of my land and my wealth against my will, and in exercising kingly authority without my consent. And unless to-day I overcome him and his army, never more will I desire to be in Frankland."<sup>3</sup>

"Sire", replied Heraperant, "threaten him well.<sup>4</sup> Behold he is here nigh to thy hand, and his people are pressing us beyond measure and almost vanquishing us, and we are in very great fear of his nephew Roland. I saw to-day, at the outset of the battle, where he struck Balant on the top of his helmet so that his sword clave through it and all his armour, and smote him to the ground. And I myself had such fear of him that I fled the whole field from him."

Then the king called Beldnit of Aquilant and bade him, saying, "Take, if thou canst, a hundred Turks, and guard them lest any of them flee. Whosoever of them fleeth see thou that he has neither honour nor heritage among the paynims while he lives."

<sup>1</sup> "And smot Poidras of Barbarin

That there he lay as a stiked swin."—*E. Otu.*, vv. 1501-2.

<sup>2</sup> See *Fr. T.*, p. 62, vv. 7, 8, 9, 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Fr. T.* "Jamès en France ne doit clamer i. gant", p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> "Bygythya dithau ef yngwbyl"; *Fr. T.* "Calez vos menaçant", p. 62.

Thereupon was heard the tumult of men and horses. Heavy were the blows dealt, and severe was the fighting. Then Roland went along the host to cut down the Saracens and to break their ranks with Durendal, and to pay evil recompense to whom such was due. Then was much brave smiting done with their sharp swords by the men of Bavier, of Ymund, of Almaen, of Burgundy, of Flanders, of Normandy, and of Frankland.

The Saracens also dealt blows immeasurably great, and kept their standards flying, having neither thought nor intention of fleeing, and having regard for no truce, nor peace, nor agreement. Whosoever fell among them or was killed, evil was his fate.

Thereupon Otuel came riding by, and he saw Guinemant, having been cast to the ground by three opponents,<sup>1</sup> Saracens from Persia. And they were about to kill him, when he spurred his horse towards them. Two of them he killed, and the third betook himself to flight. And he took a swift and well-fed destrier which belonged to one of the slain, and gave it to Guinemant. And the earl nimbly mounted it without putting his hand on the saddle-bow, and said to him, "Sire", said he, "great kindness and strength hast thou displayed in my case. It was an evil day that the paynims ever knew thy prowess. May God bless thee for thy horse. I was in a narrow strait when thou didst defend me from them." And he drew his sword, whose hilt was of silver, and with the first blow smote off the head of a Saracen Turk.

Then Otuel called "Monjoie!" and went among the paynims. And he smote them and clave them as the moonlight cleaves the air or wind.<sup>2</sup>

And then there met together Roland, Oliver, Estut, Engeler, Guarin of Normandy, Geoffrey of Anjou, and Rocold the Almaen,<sup>3</sup> each ever fighting as before. "O God, the Father Almighty", said Otuel, "how I found these companions I went to seek!"

When the valiant knights had assembled together, they battered their enemies' arms and broke them in pieces, [W.T., p. 72]

<sup>1</sup> "Cythreul", from Lat. "contrarius".

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T., p. 64, v. 21, etc.

<sup>3</sup> "Olivier trove et Turpin et Rollant  
Et Engiller et Gautier le Normant,  
Jefrei d'Anjou e Hernaut l'Aleasant."

Fr. T., p. 64, vv. 26-28.

which could no more withstand them than if they were dry stalks.<sup>1</sup> And they dealt such blows on their helmets that one could not hear with his ears the thunder<sup>2</sup> of heaven, because of the loud clashing of the weapons.

Thereupon the men of Arabia, of Persia, of Mehans, of Turkey, and of Africa became mightily afraid of them. And King Garsi was in their midst riding from place to place continually.

Then the Emperor Charles went up to the top of a bank to see his bodyguard hastening<sup>3</sup> the death of the faithless.

Were it not for Ogier the Dane there would have been no one but joyful there. He was bound with chains in the Saracen prison. His hands and his feet, however, were free, and he was bound round his waist, with seven knights watching him secretly. And then Ogier said to the knights, "Sires, I pray you, slacken these chains a little, for they cause me intense pain about my heart, and shame be to him who is merry." "Only a fool would speak thus", replied the knights, "and by Mahomet, if thou speakest another word, we will bind thy hands and thy feet so that afterwards thou shalt nevermore be free as long as thou livest. For we know thou art not to be trusted, never a day in thy life."

And when Ogier heard this threat he became very much enraged. And having found a big plank<sup>4</sup> of wood he rose up and with that, at one blow, he killed four of them. And the other three he cast over the high tower that they broke their necks when they reached the ground. And he broke the chains around him and freed himself. Having done this he went to the stable as quickly as he could, and saddled for himself the finest horse he saw there and bridled it. For he had no squire to attend on him.<sup>5</sup> And having found trusty arms he donned them until he was

<sup>1</sup> "Calaf", from Lat. "calamus".

<sup>2</sup> "Tyruen", from Lat. "turba"; Fr. T. "Dieu tonant", p. 65, v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> "Dyfrysyaw", from "dy" and "frystio", cf. "frystie", *Ystoria Dared, Bruts*, p. 33, and "maturo"=to hasten, accelerate; *Daretis Phrygiæ Hist.*, p. 47, vide W. T., p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> "Ystyllen", from Lat. "astilla", vide *Loth*, p. 134; E. Sir Ott. "a nastell schide", v. 1547.

<sup>5</sup> The English "Otuel" (stanza 197) tells us that Ogier had "a noble sknier", who, "broughte Ogger . . . his swerd and his armure brig"; Fr. T., however, reads as W. T., "n'i ot autre escuier", p. 68, v. 9.

fully equipped<sup>1</sup> and he then mounted his horse. And he said with a loud voice, "I go now to the battlefield to support my companions and you may follow me the best way you can. You may, however, ask me that in fairness I should return to-morrow, if God defends me from evil until then."

And he spurred his horse out through the gate and followed the road to the field of battle. And when he reached the field he immediately found Roland, Gwalter of Orleans, Duke Neimus, Otuel, and Garnier. And the earls welcomed him with great joy, and each embraced him. And Ogier told them that he felt quite well and lively, and that he never was in better condition to deal a knight a blow. [W.T.,  
p. 73.]

And when these valiant jousters had met and shewn their joy for Ogier, they increased the clamour and the tumult. They entered the fray and fought anew as if they had thrown off their weariness. And they immediately killed a hundred of the paynims and sent them to hell in pain and sorrow.

And when King Garsi saw this, and that he had no one to support him, he knew that no plan could be adopted to bring him success, and that he could not hold his present position, so he fell back and betook himself in flight, as best he could, towards the city. And as Otuel was riding in a wide valley with his shield on his back, and his sword Curceus in his right hand, he saw Garsi fleeing secretly.<sup>2</sup> And he rode towards him. And when he came nigh him he said, "Sire king", he said, "art thou going to feed all these Franks to-night? Art thou going now to put some fat bacon to boil for them with pease? They will not eat such food as that for a thousand marks<sup>3</sup> of gold. Seek some other dishes,<sup>4</sup> for that is the food of rustic drovers."<sup>5</sup>

The king thereupon became very angry because of

<sup>1</sup> "Aruev diogel . . . yn gyweir"; Fr. T. "Armez s'en est à loi de chevalier", p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> "Ynffo yndirgeledic"; Fr. T. "s'en fuit à celée", v. 8.

<sup>3</sup> "Uorken"; Fr. T. "mars" (marks).

<sup>4</sup> "Anrheg"—a dish or mess of meat; Fr. T. "mès".

<sup>5</sup> Middlehill MS. "Pur De, dit il, dite mei, sire reis :

Devez anuit conréer ces Franceis ?

Alez vos querre or le cras lard as peis ?

Nel mangereient por mil mars d'or keneis ;

Altre mès feites, ço est manger à burgeis."

Fr. T., p. 91.

these words. And he spurred his horse towards him with the intention of avenging these words fully, when his horse fell, and, willing or unwilling, he fell clumsily down to the ground and broke his right arm in two pieces. And ere he could regain his feet Roland approached him and took him by the hands. And never was he as glad as that for anything.

And the king said to them, "Sires, barons", said he, "kill me not I pray you. Behold, I surrender to you. Spare me my life."

[W. T.,  
p. 74.]

Then Roland and Otuel took him and brought him as a present to Charlemagne. And he sent him in advance, to prison in Paris. The Franks never after forgot him nor the battle. Ere vespers were ended or the sun had gone to its chamber,<sup>1</sup> they had won the field and taken the city into their possession.<sup>2</sup>

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### THE SONG OF ROLAND.<sup>3</sup>

And when Garsi had been taken and had been sent to prison in Paris, Marsli took the government of Spain. To him sixteen kings of the faithless paynim people were subject. And when Marsli perceived that he could not withstand Charles, he thought with all his ingenuity how he could be at peace with him. He sent to Charles asking him to send two men of judgment to report to him the terms of the peace he would make with him.

And on this embassy<sup>4</sup> Charles sent to him two noble brothers, Bazin and Bazil, and bade them tell Marsli to

<sup>1</sup> "Yn y hadn.".

<sup>2</sup> Fr. T. "Ainz qu'il soit vespre ne soleil resconsez

Les ont vaincuz et prise la citez"; p. 72, vv. 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> The Song of Roland, as found in the Hergest MS., is an early version of the romance, and is one of the finest of the versions, fuller in life and interest than any other, the speeches being longer and description of battles shorter. The Welsh Text contains only Part i of the French song, viz., "The treason of Ganelon", stanzas i to cxlii. The first portion of the story, as found on p. 74 of W. T., does not correspond with the version of the *Chanson de Roland* (stanzas i to xiii) as published by Stengel and Gautier. The latter is more closely followed in the Hengwrt MS. The Hergest MS. relates there the story of the embassy of Bazin and Bazil, not found in the French *chanson* nor in the Hengwrt MS. But from stanza xiv to stanza cxlii the two versions are in the main identical, episode for episode, though the variants are very numerous.

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Karl. Saga*, p. 46, and *K. K. K.*, p. 17.

renounce Mahomet and all their gods, as they were not worth a single garlic, and to come to him and receive baptism, and accept the Christian faith,<sup>1</sup> and he would give him one-half of Spain free and in peace, and the other half to his nephew Roland, free for ever, to him and his heir, and that Marsli should come and place his hands within Charles' hands in a state of homage for it.

Then the messengers went to Saragossa,<sup>2</sup> where Marsli was, having with him one hundred thousand<sup>3</sup> equipped knights. And having come into the presence of Marsli, they delivered their message<sup>1</sup> as Charles had commanded them. And Marsli, having heard, became exceedingly<sup>5</sup> angry with them, and had them put to death in a most cruel manner. And when the news was reported to Charles that Bazin and Bazil had suffered a most cruel death at the hands of Marsli, he led his hosts to Spain, seeking Marsli.

One day, as Beligant was marching with Marsli, he said to him, "Lord Marsli", said he, "seeing that we cannot withstand Charles and his forces by our power, we must think of some new trick by which to oppose him."

"Tell me, then, thy plan", replied Marsli. As the highest and wisest<sup>6</sup> under Marsli, Beligant said, "My Lord, Charles is old and feeble, as his grey hair testifies. And the older a man is, the more covetous he is naturally of present gains. And if we could by our ornate eloquence promise peace so that he would return to France, he would never more in his lifetime trouble himself to acquire the land of Spain. And therefore, my Lord, as we have precious stones, gold, white lions, and white bears, let us send valuable presents to all the Franks in common. For it is greed that inclined them towards this worthless

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Quod baptismum subiret, et imperiis Caroli subjaceret et urbem amplius ab illo teneret." *Turpin*, chap. xix. And Ch. de R.

"Si recevez la lei de chrestiens,  
Ses hom serez par amur et par bien,  
Trestute Espaignie tendrez de lui en fiet."

vv. 38-39a (Stengel).

<sup>2</sup> "Sesar Augustum"; "Saragossa", from "Caesar Augusta".

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R. "Envirun lui ad plus de vint milie humes", v. 13; *Karl. Saga* "ok umhverfis hann 100 thusunda manna".

<sup>4</sup> "Neges", from Lat. "negotium".

<sup>5</sup> "Odleithyr mod"="beyond measure", cf. W. T., p. 2; Lat. "ultra modum".

<sup>6</sup> "Henaduraf", from "henadur", cognate with Lat. "senator"; Ch. de R. "Blancandrins fut des plus saives paiens", v. 24; *Karl. Saga* "Hann var hinn vitrash mathr".

strip of land which belongs to us. And in addition, let us send them hostages, of the sons of our noblemen,<sup>1</sup> that they may trust in us without any misgiving. For it is incumbent upon us to buy our lives in every way we can find."

And then Marsli said, "To thee comit I that message. For thou wilt be able to convey it to the King of France in a most wise and plausible manner." And he gave into his possession the staff of gold which was in his hand. And then Beligant bowed his head and said, "By the help of Mahomet, I will fulfil that message as far as my ingenuity and skill will allow me, so that the land of Spain is set free from the everlasting bondage of the Franks."

Then went Beligant, a man of high degree, as envoy from Marsli to Charles, to say that he would come and receive baptism and submit to his sovereignty. And then Charles asked his council, "Doth it seem right to you to receive Marsli, who promises by Christ and Michael to receive baptism, and henceforth to hold his kingdom under me?"<sup>2</sup>

And when the king had ended his discourse, Roland rose up to reply to him according to his knowledge.<sup>3</sup> "Whosoever deceives once", said he, "will, if he can, deceive a second time. And he who trusts a second time in a deceiver deserves to be deceived. O king, great and noble, trust thou not in Marsli,<sup>4</sup> who has proved himself long since to be a deceiver. And has the treachery already escaped thy memory which he did thee when thou first camest to Spain? Many mighty kingdoms didst thou then destroy, and much of Spain didst thou acquire for thyself. And the same message<sup>5</sup> did Marsli send to thee then. Thou didst, at that time, send to him two of thy<sup>6</sup> barons, Bazin and Bazil, to receive an explanation of it from him, and the false king had them put to death. What is more just than that he should not be trusted now, while the massacre of these men is still unavenged? Let us go to Saragossa<sup>7</sup> while our forces are with us, and

[W. T.,  
p. 76.]

<sup>1</sup> "Andylyedogyon", "dyledog" (=noble); Ch. de R. "les filz de noz muilliers", v. 42. "Muilliers", from Lat. "mulieres".

<sup>2</sup> Ch. de R. "Chrestiens iert, de mei tiendrat ses marches", v. 190.

<sup>3</sup> "Herwyd y gwydat ef"; Hengwrt MS. "herwyd y dyall".

<sup>4</sup> Ch. de R. "Ja mar creirez Marsilie", v. 196.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "Nuncièrent vus cez paroles meismes", v. 204.

<sup>6</sup> "Deu oth wyrda"; Ch. de R. "Dons de voz cuntes", v. 207.

<sup>7</sup> "Cesar awgustwm."



let us not refrain from spending our life in defence of it. And disgrace should be our portion if we allow his infamy to go unavenged. And it is no easy task to believe that he is a faithful Catholic who is a false<sup>1</sup> paynim."

And<sup>2</sup> when Roland had finished his speech, Charles made no reply, but stroked<sup>3</sup> his grey beard which fell along his breast. And none of the Franks either assented or dissented, save Gwenwlyd.<sup>4</sup> He got up to oppose the counsel. "The counsel", said Gwenwlyd, "which inclines to haughtiness,<sup>5</sup> and hinders what is good and courteous, is not praiseworthy. And it is not well to reject anyone who desires peace and concord. He holds our blood and our death as worthless who urges<sup>6</sup> the rejection of Marsli from the faith of Christ and our own agreement. And the proposal he makes is without guile, seeing that he promises us hostages. For it is difficult to believe that a father would despise the life of his son,<sup>7</sup> though<sup>8</sup> they be paynims. Why does Roland remind a penitent of his deeds when he is coming to the right? God does not reject a penitent."

And after<sup>9</sup> Gwenwlyd's speech, Neimus<sup>10</sup> rose up before Charles. His grey hair, age, and gravity<sup>11</sup> showed that he was a man of judgment, and his scars and wounds proved that he was brave. "To suggest a course that makes for what is good and courteous", said he, "is worthy of praise and acceptance. Thou thyself, O noble king, hast heard Gwenwlyd's counsel, who seems to us to be advising what is good and courteous. Let a man of high degree be sent as messenger to Marsli, one of thine own barons, who is eloquent and clear-headed, to discuss with him and to bind him to his promises by sufficient hostages. If he con-

<sup>1</sup> "Ennwir"; Hengwrt MS. "yn wir".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 15.

<sup>3</sup> "Ymodi blew y uaryf lwyd"; Ch. de R. "Si duist sa barbe afaitat sun gernun", v. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. de R. "Francis se taisent, ne mais que Guenelun", v. 217.

<sup>5</sup> "Syberwyt", from Lat. "superbus"; Ch. de R. "Cunseilz d'orgoill", v. 228.

<sup>6</sup> "Ennyg" from "annog"; cf. "enfyn" from "anfon"; Ch. de R. "Ne li calt, sire, de quel mort nus moerium", v. 227.

<sup>7</sup> "Y neb"; Hengwrt MS. "y vab".

<sup>8</sup> "Kynn", vide *Zeuss*, p. 730.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 16.

<sup>10</sup> "Neimus", O. Fr. "Naimes". He is the Nestor of the *chansons*. He is always represented as old, prudent, and wise.

<sup>11</sup> "Prudder", from "prud", Lat. "prudens".

cedes that, it is right to trust in him and in all of them who wish to come into faithful agreement<sup>1</sup> with us." And by that advice they abode.<sup>2</sup>

[W.T.,  
p. 77.]

And then<sup>3</sup> the king asked what man of valour<sup>4</sup> and of judgment it would be most becoming to send there as envoy for that business. "I will go on that embassy", said Roland, "and I shall be most pleased if I am not denied to go."

Then Oliver said, "Roland", said he, "thy nature is too impulsive for that embassy, and thy pride could not brook the haughty words of Marsli without causing bloodshed. And, I pray thee, allow me to go on that embassy", said Oliver, "for my mind is more gentle than that of Roland to bear Marsli's words."

"Let neither of you beg<sup>5</sup> to go on that embassy", said Charles. "None of the twelve peers shall go on that mission."<sup>6</sup>

Archbishop Turpin<sup>7</sup> stood up and asked to go. And he said, "Lord King", said he, "I will go on that errand, and I will carry it out with readiness and intelligence, and let thy barons rest. For they are weary, having been carrying on war in Spain for fourteen years."<sup>8</sup>

"It does not become an archbishop", said Charles, "to undertake such a mission as that. But let him render service in masses and godly counsels. And let not anyone of you interfere with another's office. But<sup>9</sup> choose me a man of doughty deeds and of noble birth<sup>10</sup> whom it best becomes to bear the weight<sup>11</sup> of this mission."

Then Roland recalled to mind that Gwenwlyd had

<sup>1</sup> "Yndun a ni", W. T., p. 93; Hengwrt MS. "yn dyhun a ni".

<sup>2</sup> Ch. de R. "Dient Franceis: Bien ad parlet li Dux", v. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R., stanzas 17, 18.

<sup>4</sup> "Wr prud"; O. Fr. "prudhome"="prod", from Lat. "prodesse", and "home", from Lat. "homo".

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "ambdvi vns en taisiez", v. 259.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. "Li duze Per mar i serunt jugiet", v. 262.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 19.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. de R. "Bels sire reis, laissez ester voz Francs

En cest pais avez estet *set* anz."—vv. 265-6.

Vide W. T., p. 78, "seith mlyned yr awrhon".

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 20.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ch. de R. "Kar m'eslisez un barun de ma marche", v. 275.

<sup>11</sup> "Godef *pwys* y neges hon", cf. Ch. de R.

Qu a l' rei Marsilie me portet mun message  
Se mestier est e bien poisset combatre."

vv. 276-6a.

slighted his counsel, and he said that the mission would suit no one better than Gwenwlyd. Roland's idea commended itself to all. And they spake of Gwenwlyd as Roland had spoken.

And<sup>1</sup> Charles then said, "Let him go on this embassy. To fail on a mission commended by all would be a strange thing." "Roland", said Gwenwlyd, "caused me to go on this mission, and he is seeking to destroy me. And from this time forth I shall be his enemy<sup>2</sup> as he shall know, and I will belittle him. And I promise, and will make it good, that this year will not entirely pass before the treachery is avenged on him who conceived this thought."

"Gwenwlyd", said Roland,<sup>3</sup> "thou art too easily provoked to anger. And it is not seemly for a man to be overcome by bad temper.<sup>4</sup> For a man should be superior to his passions. Carry out the mission entrusted to thee for the honour of him who committed it to thee. And while speaking to Charles, pay no attention to anyone [W.T., p. 78.] save to Charles himself."

"I will be obedient in that thou hast committed to me and biddest me perform",<sup>5</sup> said Gwenwlyd. "And I will go to Marsli. But I have no more hope for my life than Bazin and Bazil<sup>6</sup> whom that paynim put to death. And Roland it was who advised that also, because of his haughtiness and pride. And in the same manner, it is again Roland who is endeavouring to shorten my days also. For he hates me. And wherefore, sire, didst thou comply with his haughtiness to send me, at Roland's advice, to an almost certain death, as Bazin and Bazil, on account of his advice and counsel, were put to death. Thou hast<sup>7</sup> a nephew, a son of thy sister, who is a son of mine, and whose name is Baldwin. And judging from his youth, he is likely to be a valiant man." And him I commend to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 21.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. de R. "Ne l'amerai à trestut mun vivant", v. 284.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ch. de R. it is Charles that taxed Gwenwlyd: Ch. de R. "Ço dist li Reis : trop avez maltalent", v. 288.

<sup>4</sup> "Drycanyan"; O. Fr. "maltalent".

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "Or, irez vus, certes, quant jo l'cumant", v. 289.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. "J' i puis aler ; mais n'i avrai guarant

Ne l'out Basilies ne sis frere Basanz."—vv. 290-1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 22.

<sup>8</sup> "Gwr grymus"; Ch. de R. "ki ert prozdœm", v. 296.

thee rather than Roland.” “Thou art too faint-hearted”,<sup>1</sup> said Charles, “and too effeminate. Moreover, it is a shame for a man to use such threatening words as those towards a son.”

And thereupon,<sup>2</sup> being full of wrath and fear because he had to go to Marsli, he cast off the mantle he had on and disclosed a scarlet robe,<sup>3</sup> as all could see. And he looked at Roland with contempt for his honour, and poured out the bitterness of his soul in this wise, “Ah, Roland, supreme in haughtiness”, said he, “what frenzy<sup>4</sup> and what evil spirit excite thee that thou canst not rest and wilt not let others do so. For full seven years by this hast thou detained all the barons of France in Spain, carrying on constant war, without regular sleep or meat and drink in due season, or doffing our arms either night or day. Their lives and their blood thou regardest as worthless. And until thy frenzy is satisfied thou heedest not how many of the nobles of France are destroyed. And though I am thy step-father,<sup>5</sup> a father’s love would I have bestowed upon thee. But as thou didst shew thyself just now, thou wert worse than a stepson to me.” If God, however, will grant me to return to you,<sup>7</sup> a coming which thou dost not wish, I will requite thee for this journey. And if I am put to death, thou shalt find lifelong enemies.”

“The sword, though one is threatened with it, does not kill unless one is smitten with it”, said Roland, “and it is vain to threaten him whose mind is never turned by a threat. Go thou”, said Roland, “on the mission entrusted to thee. And it grieves me that it was committed to such a coward as thou art, and that I was not allowed to go myself.”<sup>8</sup>

And then<sup>9</sup> all the letters were prepared and the mission to Marsli.

<sup>1</sup> Hengwrt MS. supplies “eb y charlymaen”; Ch. de R. “Carles respunt, trop avez tendre coer”, v. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R. “ses grandes pels de martre”, v. 302.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. de R. “Tut fols, pur quei t’ esrages?”, v. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. “Que jo sui tis parastre”, v. 308.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. “si as jugiet qu à Marsiliun alge”, v. 309.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. de R. “se Deus ço dunget que de là jo repaire”, v. 310.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. de R., stanzas 24 and 25 are omitted, stanza 26 comes in further on.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 27.

Charles then held out<sup>1</sup> the letters<sup>2</sup> to Gwenwlyd. And as the king was putting them in his hand, they fell down to the ground, his hand shaking. And when picking them up he sweated in every limb for shame that he was so awkward as that. And all perceived that in him, and foreboded from the fall of the letter a greater fall in the future. And to that Gwenwlyd replied in this wise, "That will be as the journey proves,<sup>3</sup> and I do not think that there is a cause<sup>4</sup> for your anxiety."

"I am<sup>5</sup> ready, sire, to go on this mission, for I do not see how to turn thee from thy purpose. Grant me thy leave, sire."<sup>6</sup> "Take thy leave", said Charles, "and may the God of heaven grant thee a fair and prosperous journey."

And Charlemagne lifted up his hands and signed him with the sign of the cross.

"Speak thou thus",<sup>7</sup> said he, "to Marsli, in addition to what the letter commands, Charles wishes thy future welfare, which thou shalt secure if thou wilt do what thou hast promised—that thou wilt follow him to France to receive baptism and the Catholic faith:<sup>8</sup> and pay him homage, and put thy hands between his hands:<sup>9</sup> and receive from him half thy kingdom<sup>10</sup> and hold it under him. The other half of the kingdom, held in Spain, belongs to his nephew Roland.<sup>11</sup> If thou wilt not do that willingly thou shalt do it unwillingly. And he will come and lay siege to thy city Saragossa,<sup>12</sup> and will not depart thence before he takes it. And he will bring thee against thy will, bound, to France with him. And there thou shalt be compelled<sup>13</sup> against thy will to do what he will now accept from thee in accordance with thy will."

And when the king had thus spoken to Gwenwlyd,

<sup>1</sup> "Ystynnu", from Lat. "extendo".

<sup>2</sup> "Llythyren", from Lat. "litterae".

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R. "Seignurs, dist Guenes, vus en orrez nuvels", v. 336.

<sup>4</sup> "Achaws", from Lat. "occasio".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 28.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. "Sire, dist Guenes, dunez mei le cungiet", v. 337.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 26.

<sup>8</sup> "Quibus Carolus per Ganalonum mandavit ut baptismum subirent, aut ei tributum mitterent." *Turpin*, chap. xxii (Ciampi). Ch. de R. "E si receivet seinte chrestientet", v. 331d.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. de R. "Juintes ses mains", v. 331c.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. de R. "Demi Espagne li voeill en fieuduner", v. 331e.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. de R. "L'altre meitiet avrat Rollanz li ber", v. 331f.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. de R. "Suz Sarraguce le siège irai fermer", v. 331h.

<sup>13</sup> "Cymhellir", from Lat. "compello".

Gwenwlyd set out on his journey. And one hundred of his own knights<sup>1</sup> escorted him out of the court.

And<sup>2</sup> to his tent<sup>3</sup> he came<sup>4</sup> and equipped himself with majestic and fine adornment.<sup>5</sup> A high horse, graceful in form, was brought him.<sup>6</sup> And the barons who were of his retinue served him and offered to go with him.<sup>7</sup>

[W. T.,  
p. 80.] "Be it far from me",<sup>8</sup> said Gwenwlyd, "to take anyone to peril of death from the paynims. For to lose one is a lesser loss than to lose a great number with me. And it will be a lighter affliction to hear of my death than to see it. And when you return to France,<sup>9</sup> salute ye my wife<sup>10</sup> and my son Baldwin.<sup>11</sup> And as my love abides in you, after I am dead, I pray you keep company with them, and have masses and psalters sung for my soul,<sup>12</sup> and give clothes to the naked and food to the hungry."

Thus he took leave of his people and went with the ambassadors of the paynims. And the nobles bemoaned and bewailed his departure, fearing for him and sadly lamenting in this wise,—“Return, return to us well, O noble prince. Little loved he thee who sent thee on this mission, even thy step-son Roland, seeing that he selected thee for so dangerous a mission as this. The best that can happen to him is thy return in safety, and that no evil befall thee from the false Marsli. Thou art descended from so great and so noble a people that Charles cannot defend Roland from death, if thou wilt not return from this mission in safety.”

From thence,<sup>13</sup> side by side with Gwenwlyd, rode

<sup>1</sup> Ch. de R. “Guene s’ en part por sei apareillier  
Après lui vont *cent* de ses chevaliers.”

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 29. *Stengel*, vv. 341a, b.

<sup>3</sup> “Pebyll”, not “plural”; from Lat. “papilio”.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. de R. “Guenes li quens s’ en vait a sun ostel”, v. 342.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. “de guarnemenz”.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. “En Tachebrun sun destrier est muntez”, v. 347.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. de R. “Enpres li dient, Sire, kar nus menez”, v. 356.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. de R. “Co respunt Guenes, ne placet damne Deu”, v. 357.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. de R. “En dulce France, Seignurs, vus en irez”, v. 360.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. de R. “De meie part ma muillier saluez”, v. 361.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. de R. “E. Baldwin, mun filz”, v. 363.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. de R. “Por la meie anme messes faites chanter”, *Stengel*, v. 359b; *Karl. Saga* “ef ther heyrit sagt i fra, at ek sé drepinn, tha verthit ther at minnast salu minnar i boenahaldi ythru” (“and if ye shall hear that I am killed, then ye must remember my soul in your prayers”).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 30.

Beligant, and he approached him craftily in this wise, "Great is the unrest of greed. For it knows no limit to its getting. The more possessions increase, the more the possessor covets. See what kingdoms Charles your king has sought and added to himself by might. And yet he will not rest from endeavouring to multiply kingdoms, though he is wallowing in old age.<sup>1</sup> He has acquired Constantinople, Calabria, Poland, Rome, and Spain, and why needs he turn to this worthless side<sup>2</sup> of it which we possess." "Greed", said Gwenwlyd, "does not always prompt to action, but only as long as prosperity lasts. The magnanimity of a vigorous mind will not rest, save in sickness. And Charles has no cause<sup>3</sup> to fight with the paynims save only that he seeks to bring them to a belief in the Christian<sup>4</sup> faith, and to subdue them to his sovereignty. And never has he found anyone who can withstand him. And so also are the twelve compeers, they have never met any who excelled them in inborn magnanimity, in praise, and in fame."

"It is not deemed praiseworthy but reckless bravado to expose oneself to ceaseless toil and dangers", said the paynim. "Why does Charles, at his age, leave the many barons who are in France, to interfere in these many dangers, when it is time for all of them to rest?" [W.T., p. 81.]

"One day",<sup>5</sup> said Gwenwlyd, "Charles was sitting under the shade<sup>6</sup> of a tree. And Roland came to him, and in his hand he had a red apple.<sup>7</sup> And he gave it to him with these words: Take<sup>8</sup> this as a pledge that I will subdue all the kingdoms of the earth. And thou hast already subdued many, and many shalt thou yet subdue. And there is hardly any part of the whole of Spain or of many other countries that has not submitted to thee. And the subjection of Babylon is promised to thee."

<sup>1</sup> "Yr y not ynymdreiglau yn heneint"; cf. Ch. de R. "Or est molt vielz, dos cenx anz ad d'èage", v. 373a (Stengel); *Karl. Saga* "hann er nu ok gamall, sva at ekki ma a skorta thrju hundruth vetra" ("he is now also old, so that he is not far short of three hundred years").

<sup>2</sup> "Yr ystlys dielw"; Ch. de R. "la nostre marche", v. 374.

<sup>3</sup> "Achaws", from Lat. "occasio".

<sup>4</sup> "Ffyd grist."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 31.

<sup>6</sup> "Yggwasgawt", see Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, under "guas-cotau"; Ch. de R. "Hier main sedeit l' Emperere suz l' umbre", v. 383.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. de R. "En sa main tint une vermeille pume", v. 386.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. de R. "Tenez, bels sire, dist Rolanz à son uncle", v. 387.

"It is wonderful",<sup>1</sup> said Beligant, "what confidence Roland has, or what power he has when he promised to subdue those many kings to Charles." "Roland's confidence", said Gwenwlyd, "is in the Franks, men who dare nothing less than they purpose, and can achieve nothing less than they desire, and there is nothing under heaven which they cannot subdue by their might, if they set their heart on it. And so much do all the Franks love Roland that they deny him nothing for which he has any desire. And Roland has not in his possession any goods at any time,<sup>2</sup> either adornments, or money, or horses, or arms, or jewels, but that he shares with every one. And hence he has the good will of all."<sup>3</sup>

And while<sup>4</sup> the conversation between Gwenwlyd and Beligant about Roland lasted, they conceived and planned his betrayal in the form and the wily way by which they could bring it to pass. And more amicably they afterwards rode until they came to Saragossa, into the presence of Marsli. Marsli sat there in a chair of gold,<sup>5</sup> and around him were one hundred thousand paynim knights, in silence, not a word spoken by any of them, wistfully waiting to hear the messenger of Charles.

Into the presence of Marsli they<sup>6</sup> came. And Beligant took Gwenwlyd by the hand and brought him before Marsli, and said, "May Mahomet, Apollo, and the other gods<sup>7</sup> whom we serve, save thee, O Marsli! By whose aid we have accomplished all thy mission to the King of France." Marsli, however, made no reply, save that he uplifted hands and face and thanked his God.

[W.T.,  
p. 82.] "Behold here, this noble baron", said Beligant, "whom Charles has sent to inform thee the terms<sup>8</sup> of peace he will make with thee."

"Let him declare them then", said Marsli.

And then<sup>9</sup> Gwenwlyd said, "May He, O Marsli, who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 32.

<sup>2</sup> "Neb ryw da kyndrychawl ar helw Roland."

<sup>3</sup> Hergest MS. follows Digby MS. in omitting stanza 33.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 34.

<sup>5</sup> "Cadeir o eur"; Ch. de R. "faldestoel", v. 407.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 35.

<sup>7</sup> *Karl. Saga* "Maumet, ok Apollin ok Jubiter gæti thin" ("may Mahomet, Apollo, and Jupiter preserve thee").

<sup>8</sup> "Furuf", from Lat. "forma".

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 36.



is the salvation of all men,<sup>1</sup> save thee. And may thy heart and mind be open to my teaching<sup>2</sup> to move thee to salvation. Charles sends his command to thee to receive baptism and the Christian faith,<sup>3</sup> and to put thy hands between his hands as a sign of homage to him, and to hold under him one half of thy realm. The other half belongs to his nephew Roland. If thou wilt do that willingly, he will accept it from thee. If thou wilt not do so, he will take thee against thy will to France, and imprison thee there until thou die of a shameful death."

Then<sup>4</sup> Marsli was moved to wrath and fury, and would have struck him with the golden staff<sup>5</sup> which was in his hand, had not the chamberlains<sup>6</sup> prevented<sup>7</sup> him. And Gwenwlyd drew his sword<sup>8</sup> half out of its sheath, and addressed it in this wise, "Oh sword, trusted and proven by me in many a dangerous pass, I need thy faithfulness now. For Charles shall never reproach me that I was slain here by mine enemies, without my striking a blow."<sup>9</sup>

And their men intervened<sup>10</sup> between them in their anger.

And<sup>11</sup> his barons<sup>12</sup> reproved Marsli greatly for his evil intention towards an ambassador. And they told him that it was a disgraceful thing to harm an ambassador before it be known fully what he had to say without disputation.

Then Gwenwlyd drew the cord of his mantle<sup>13</sup> over his head and laid his hand on the hilt of his sword.

<sup>1</sup> "Iechyd y bawb"; Hengwrt MS. "Iachawdlyr pob peth".

<sup>2</sup> "Dysc", from Lat. "disco".

<sup>3</sup> "Ffyd grist."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 37.

<sup>5</sup> "*Cwmp eur*"; *Roman de Roncevaux*, "un dart", v. 469; *Karl. Saga* "staf einun"; Ch. de R. "un atgier d'or", v. 437. A.S. Ategar, "in dextra lanceam auream quae lingua Anglorum *hategar* nuncupatur", Lat. text of Florence of Worcester; Hengwrt MS. "wialen eur".

<sup>6</sup> "Reolwyr."

<sup>7</sup> "*Achuppei*", from Lat. "occupo". *Acupet*, "il prévient"—Lux. gloss. Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. de R. "Quant le vit Guenes, mist la main à l'espée", v. 443.

<sup>9</sup> "Yn diaruot"; Hengwrt MS. "heb ymdiala".

<sup>10</sup> "Ethrywyn", from Lat. "intervenio"; Hengwrt MS. "ac ethrywyn a orugant y gwyw candeirawc".

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 38.

<sup>12</sup> "Gwyrda", Hengwrt MS. "rei prudaf".

<sup>13</sup> "Y uantell"; Hengwrt MS. "y ysgin".

And<sup>1</sup> he approached Marsli, with evil intent, and spake to him in this wise : "Unless death debars<sup>2</sup> me, be it good or be it evil<sup>3</sup> in thy sight, O Marsli, I will tell thee as Charles commanded me. And in order that thy discomfiture may be the greater, O Marsli", said he, "Charles bids thee turn to the Christian faith<sup>4</sup> and renounce false gods, and put thy hands between Charles' hands and come on thy bended knees<sup>5</sup> to bind thyself to pay him homage. And unless thou wilt come of thine own accord, thou shalt be compelled to come. And thou shalt receive one half of thy realm, and his nephew Roland shall receive the other half. And if thou wilt not come willingly, thou shalt come unwillingly. And thou shalt be imprisoned as an evil person ought to be. And, behold, here is Charles' letter to thee, sealed and folded. And in the letter thou shalt see things similar to those I have said, or what may be more shocking and difficult for thee to bear when thou hast seen them."

[W. T.,  
p. 83.]

And<sup>6</sup> he broke the seal and looked at the letter for a long time.<sup>7</sup> And when he had grasped the full import of the letter, he stroked his hair and beard, and wept. And he stood up and told them in this wise the meaning of his tears, "My faithful people, listen to the insolence and haughtiness which Charles sends me in this letter, in addition to what his ambassador said apart from the letter. He still reminds me that Bazin and Basil, his brother, were killed, and he bids me send my uncle the Caliph<sup>8</sup> to be put to death to-day for their execution at my advice. And he swears that unless that is done, there will be no peace between us, nor will my life be spared. And wherefore let us go and take counsel how we shall reply to him."

And then<sup>9</sup> he went under an olive tree,<sup>10</sup> which was close

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 39.

<sup>2</sup> "Gwehyrd", from "gwahard"; cf. "cedyrn", from "cadarn".

<sup>3</sup> "Bo drwc bo da"; Hengwrt MS. "mynno na vynno".

<sup>4</sup> "Ffyd grist."

<sup>5</sup> "Ar dal dy linyeu." For "tal" see Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 40.

<sup>7</sup> "Edrych y llythyr yn hir"; Hengwrt MS. "leawd y llythyr yn un agwed ry ystudyei yn hir llyureu lladin".

<sup>8</sup> "Algaliff."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 42.

<sup>10</sup> "O dan olewyden"; Hengwrt MS. "dan wascawt prenn olewyd"; Ch. de R. "vergier", v. 501; *Roman de Ronceraux*, "une olive", v. 761.

by, and with him were a few men of valour, and of noble birth. And among that number were the Caliph, the king's uncle, and Beligant, the prime mover in this treachery.

"The most befitting thing we can do", said Beligant, "is to call to us the ambassador of the Franks, who plighted his troth to me yesterday to further our advantage in the future." "Let him be called", said the Caliph.<sup>1</sup>

And then Beligant brought him in by the right hand before Marshi.

"O good sir",<sup>2</sup> said the king, "do not harbour indignant and revengeful thoughts against us for the angry words spoken to thee a little while ago. I express my regret for mine anger. I will make amends<sup>3</sup> to thee with<sup>4</sup> my mantle, which is esteemed more costly than its weight in gold or precious stones." And he placed the mantle round the prince's neck.<sup>5</sup> And he put him to sit in an honourable place, on his right, under the olive tree.

And immediately<sup>6</sup> he further addressed him in this wise, "Gwenwlyd", said he, "do no longer hesitate, as long as I am alive, to bind thyself to me in true fellowship. And I will not henceforth hide<sup>7</sup> my counsel from thee. Let us, then, now speak of old Charles,<sup>8</sup> whose hoariness shows that he is wallowing in old age.<sup>9</sup> And we believe that he has passed two hundred years<sup>10</sup> of his life. And many kingdoms has he wearied by his enterprises, and many realms has he subdued, and many kings has he

<sup>1</sup> Ch. de R. "Co dist li Reis", v. 508.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 43.

<sup>3</sup> "Dienwiwaf"; Ch. de R. "Faz vus en dreit", v. 515; "faire en dreit"="to repair an injury"; Hengwrt MS. "dieniwaf".

<sup>4</sup> "Myn." For usual meaning of "myn", *vide* Zeuss, p. 675. Here the word seems to have the force of a simple preposition. "Myn vy mantell"; Ch. de R. "par cez pels sabelines", v. 515.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "A l' col de Guene les pent li reis Marsilies", v. 517a.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanzas 44 to 46.

<sup>7</sup> "Neilltuaw"; Ch. de R. "Nostre conseilz bien deit estre celez", v. 521a.

<sup>8</sup> "Ymadrodwn . . . am yr hen Chyarlys"; Hengwrt MS. "gyfrwch o heneint Charlyman".

<sup>9</sup> "Ymdreiglaw yn heneint"; Hengwrt MS. "yn oedawc".

<sup>10</sup> "Deucant myned"; Ch. de R. "dous cenx anz", v. 524; Charlemagne is represented in the *chansons* as a very old man. His age here, as well as elsewhere, is greatly exaggerated. At the time of the action of this *chanson de geste*, i.e., during the expedition to Spain in 778, Charles was only 36 years of age.

[W.T. p. 84.] forced into captivity. It is time that he should rest now,<sup>1</sup> and spend the end of his life in joy and pleasure."

"Charles is not a man of that kind", said Gwenwlyd, "and he is not so old as to be terrified by any suggested enterprise, however prodigious it may be. And because of his youthfulness, might, and energy, there is no one who can withstand Charles. And there are more good qualities in Charles than tongue can express. And no one can conceive how much grace and how many gifts he has received from the Giver of all gifts. I will not, however, say that a great deal of his power could not be blunted, if the pride of Roland, who is Charles' right hand,<sup>2</sup> were brought low. What he conceives in his heart he performs in deed, and he does so with all his might and main. And his haughtiness is acknowledged and manifest. And wherever Charles and his host go, Roland, Oliver, and the twelve peers, with one hundred thousand armed knights, guard the rear<sup>3</sup> from any sudden<sup>4</sup> attack. And no one will dare contest Roland's prowess. For his fame and valour are acknowledged. And he will never allow himself to be beaten, as is known to his great credit everywhere."

"I have",<sup>5</sup> said Marsli, "four hundred thousand<sup>6</sup> paynims, and it is no easy task to find a knightly host finer, better equipped, and more valiant. And thinkest thou that I cannot withstand Charles and his host in battle?"

"It is very much beyond you", replied Gwenwlyd, "You cannot with your paynims withstand the trusty army that is there. And, therefore, try and overcome by craftiness where you cannot overcome by your powers. Give Charles hostages of your sons, and give him abundance of presents whereof the value cannot be estimated, and he will return to France. And as is ever his custom, he will leave in the rear Roland and the twelve peers with him, to protect those in front from treachery. If you will then attack them bravely, they shall not escape from your hands. And then Charles would cease from threatening you, if you could bring down Roland's pride."

<sup>1</sup> Ch. de R. "Ad Ais en France devreit il reposer", v. 528a.

<sup>2</sup> "Deheu y Chyarles"; Ch. de R. "le destre braz de l' cors", v. 597; Lat. text of Turpin, "O brachium dextrum corporis mei", chap. xxv.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R. "Funt les enguardes à vint mil chevaliers", v. 548.

<sup>4</sup> "Deissyvyt", from Lat. "de subito".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 47.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. "Quatre cenz milie chevaliers pois avoir", v. 565.

And while Gwenwlyd was thus speaking, Marsli was kissing his face.<sup>1</sup> And he then bade his treasure to be opened for him to take as much as he liked of it. [W.T.,  
p. 85.]

And<sup>2</sup> he addressed him in this wise, "An abundantly discussed counsel is inconclusive<sup>3</sup> unless it ends in a definite decision. And may thy action and thy exertion be, sir, as thy words are", said Marsli, "to see that Roland is left in the rear. And we will fight with him, when we shall meet him, so as to lay low his pride and his arrogance. And what I say in word I will make good in deed, that I will kill him, unless he kills me."

"Let it be as thou sayest", said Gwenwlyd, "I will see that he is in the rear. See ye to it that ye make good your promise."

And then<sup>4</sup> Marsli commanded that the book of the law, which Mahomet left to the paynims, should be brought on a shield of gold<sup>5</sup> to him under the olive tree. And Marsli and his barons, by oath on that book, confirmed their promise concerning the death of Roland.

And then<sup>6</sup> Maldebrum, a man of exalted position, called Gwenwlyd to him and said, "I will give thee a sword whose hilt is of the finest gold. And by that sword, than which a better never was on thigh or side, I bind myself to thee in fellowship. And in return I pray thee, noble sir, see that I be the first to meet Roland; and I swear to thee that I will kill Roland with my right hand, unless I am killed first."

And then<sup>7</sup> Cliborin<sup>8</sup> came to Gwenwlyd to present him with a helmet, and addressed him thus, "Accept, sir, this gift of which thou art worthy, and which befits a peer like thyself. It is the finest helmet that was ever put on a man's head, and the most costly. All its parts have been joined and bound together. On its nasal is a carbuncle stone adorning its front, and casting light, like the day, the way it travels, as the sun reveals as far as its rays extend. And do thou repay me so great a gift as

<sup>1</sup> Ch. de R. "Quant l' ot Marsilies, si l' ad baisiet el' col", v. 601.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 50.

<sup>3</sup> "Kyghor annosparthus"; Ch. de R. "Cunseilz n'est pruz", v. 604.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 51.

<sup>5</sup> "Taryan cureit"; Ch. de R. "desur un escut blanc", v. 610a.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 52.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 53.

<sup>8</sup> For "Eliborin" read "Cliborin".

this in this wise, namely, that I may meet Roland to lay low his pride."

"If I can", said Gwenwlyd", "thou shalt have thy desire in that respect."

And after<sup>1</sup> them came Breinunt, Marsli's wife, to Gwenwlyd, and spoke to him in this wise, "There is in thee token of noble birth so that Marsli and his men ought to show thee honour. And I, with this clasp,<sup>2</sup> will honour thy wife, whom I deem worthy to be honoured for thy sake. The gold of this clasp, precious though it be, is as nothing in comparison with the stones that are set in it. And more costly is this clasp than all the jewels of the Christians. And all the wealth of Charles, your king, cannot be compared with this clasp and its virtues. And may this clasp, though it be costly, be the beginning of honour to thy wife. And be thou neither a stranger nor a sojourner, but henceforth well and kindly disposed towards us."

[W.T.,  
p. 86.]

And Gwenwlyd accepted the clasp and thanked the queen greatly. And he promised her, if God would grant him life, that he would repay the honour shown and the gifts bestowed with much interest.

And among<sup>3</sup> them came the king's treasurer, bringing to the king his gifts<sup>4</sup> and the hostages that were to be sent to Charles. And not the least of the shares was that which was brought to Gwenwlyd as a reward of his treachery, namely, ten horses with their ten loads on their backs. And he addressed him in this wise, "Accept this, valiant duke, as the beginning of fellowship with thee. And accept again more when thou returnest here, or when thou sendest for it, if thou canst arrange time and place for us to lay low the pride of Roland."

"It is not necessary", said Gwenwlyd, "to trouble or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 54.

<sup>2</sup> "Kae hwnn"; Ch. de R. "dous nuschas", v. 637; *Karl. Saga*, "2 nisti" (2 needles).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 55.

<sup>4</sup> "Tunc miserunt ei xxx equos ornatos auro et argento gazisque hispanicis, et lx equos vino dulcissimo et puro oneratos miserunt pugnatoribus ad potandum et mille mulieres Saracenas formosas . . . Ganalono vero viginti equos auro et argento et palliis praetiosis oneratos fraudolenter obtulerunt, ut pugnatores illorum manibus traderet ad interficiendum; qui concessit, et pecuniam illam accepit." *Turpin*, chap. xxii (Ciampi).

beseech or entice with words him who is more desirous to do what is commanded than he who commands it."

And again<sup>1</sup> Marsli addressed Gwenwlyd in this manner, "Take heed henceforth to be in agreement with us, and that our friendship never more be severed. And behold, here are the gifts I promised Charles by my ambassadors, and here are the twenty hostages,<sup>2</sup> and here are also the keys<sup>3</sup> of my city, Saragossa. And when thou art giving him these things, remember to weigh<sup>4</sup> them for me against the death of Roland, and see that he is in command of the rearguard. And if such be the case, he shall receive his death blow from my right hand."

"Let it be as thou sayst", said Gwenwlyd, "and every hour will seem to me like a year while Roland's death is delayed." And having spoken those words Gwenwlyd mounted<sup>5</sup> his horse and started on his journey, with the hostages and the gifts, until they came where Charles was.

And that<sup>6</sup> day, as every day, Charles was up at dawn. And when he had heard matins and mass, they pitched his tent<sup>7</sup> in a meadow, in a fine and extensive plain. And with Roland were countless nobles attending the king. And they knew nothing until Gwenwlyd came to them, and with the cunning deceit<sup>8</sup> of a traitor he addressed Charles in this wise, "Oh Charles, thou mighty king, may God Almighty, who is the true salvation of all Christians, save thee. And behold, here are the keys of Saragossa, which Marsli sends thee; and this portion of his treasures, and twenty noble youths as hostages for the confirmation of peace with thee and of concord with him. And he entreats thee not to be offended about his uncle the Caliph<sup>9</sup> whom thou didst command to be sent to thee. Seven thousand men came and took him away before my eyes<sup>10</sup>

[W.T.,  
p. 87.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 56.

<sup>2</sup> "Ugein gwystyl"; Ch. de R. "De meie part lui livrez vint ostages", v. 656.

<sup>3</sup> "Agoryadeu saragus vynu dinas"; Ch. de R. "Tenez les clefs de ceste citet large", v. 654.

<sup>4</sup> "Kymptyssau", from Lat. "compenso".

<sup>5</sup> For "ystynnawd" read "ysgynnawd".

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 58.

<sup>7</sup> "Pebyll", singular number; for plural "pebylleu" see next page.

<sup>8</sup> Yn gywreint dwyllwreid"; Ch. de R. "Par grant veisdie cumencet à parler", v. 675.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. de R. "De l' Algalife ne l' devez pas blasmer", v. 681.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. de R. "Kar à mes oilz vi treis cenz milie armez", v. 682.

from Marsli. And they went on ships<sup>1</sup> to sea, and renounced the faith. And they had not sailed more than two miles to sea before they were scattered by the tempest<sup>2</sup> and the raging of the sea. And it is not known whether they were not all drowned. If they had remained in Marsli's domain, he would have sent him here for thee to do thy will, though he might feel it sorely. And as Marsli has promised me well, he will make it good, he will follow thee to France<sup>3</sup> to receive baptism there and to accept the Catholic faith;<sup>4</sup> to pay thee homage, and to put his hands together unarmed.<sup>5</sup> And he seeks not of his domain save only what thou wilt grant him to hold in fief."<sup>6</sup>

"Thoroughly well hast thou carried out thy mission", said Charles, "and as long as thou livest thou shalt ever have glory and advantage, because of this mission."

And thereupon they forthwith gave the signal to start, and the bugles were sounded.<sup>7</sup> And when the host heard the signal they rejoiced greatly. They struck their tents, gathered the army together and their scattered cattle,<sup>8</sup> put their baggage<sup>9</sup> on their horses, and started on their journey towards their wished-for France.<sup>10</sup>

And they<sup>11</sup> had not gone more than two miles beyond the gates of Spain<sup>12</sup> when even came. And they had to pitch their tents on the open plain. And there were four hundred thousand paynim knights fully armed pursuing them, and that night they lay in hiding close to the host of France.

That night<sup>13</sup> Charles slept more wearily than other

<sup>1</sup> "Logeu", from Lat. "*longae naves*".

<sup>2</sup> "Tymhestyl", from Lat. "*tempestas*".

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R. "Qu'il vus sivat en France le regnet", v. 694.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. de R. "Si recevrat la lei que vuz tenez", v. 695.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "Juintes ses mains, iert vostre cumandez", v. 696.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. "De vus tiendrat Espaigne le regnet", v. 697. "Rediit Ganelonus ad Carolum . . . . . dicens quod Marsirius vellet fieri Christianus, et praeparabat iter suum ut veniret ad Carolum in Gallia, et ibi baptismum acciperet et totam terram hispanicam amplius pro illo teneret." *Turpin*, chap. xxii (Ciampi, p. 60).

<sup>7</sup> Ch. de R. "Par mi cele ost funt mil graisles suner", v. 700.

<sup>8</sup> "Daoed"; "da", from Lat. "*dama*".

<sup>9</sup> Ch. de R. "Funt lur sumiers trusser", v. 701; "Swmerau", from O.F. "*sume*".

<sup>10</sup> Ch. de R. "Vers dulce France tuit sunt achemet", v. 702.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 59.

<sup>12</sup> "Pyrrh yr yspain"; Ch. de R. "porz di Sizre"; Lat. "*portus ciserei*".

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 60.



nights. And in his sleep the destruction of his men was made manifest to him. He saw himself in the gates of Spain, with a lance-shaft of ash in his hand. And he saw Gwenwlyd snatching the shaft and crumbling<sup>1</sup> it, until the shaft was in small pieces above his head. And though he was wonderfully impressed by the vision, he did not, however, wake up.

And<sup>2</sup> in the same sleep he saw himself holding a bear bound with two chains. And he saw the bear biting him on his right arm, mangling and gnawing him, and tearing his clothes. And thereupon he saw a leopard coming from Spain and attacking it fiercely. And thereupon there came a greyhound from his own court to defend his master, and it boldly attacked the leopard, and protected him from it. Notwithstanding what he saw, he slept on without ceasing until it was day.

And on the morrow,<sup>3</sup> at day-break, Charles rose up and summoned his barons to consult with them who would remain in the rear to guard the host from pursuit or fear of treachery. "It becomes no one better than Roland", said Gwenwlyd.

\* \* \* \* \*

"And no place<sup>5</sup> gives me less concern than to be in battle with Durendard in my hand, smiting mine enemies. And thou shalt see me to-day mowing them down so that they would rather their death than wait for their reaper."

"For the third time", said Oliver, "I would advise thee to sound the olifant to bring the king to us, lest the nobility of France, who have been left with thee here, perish, and lest those accursed people prevail over us, so that I be again reproached."

"God forbid",<sup>6</sup> said Roland, "that I should alarm a host which never could be made to fear. Roland shall never be reproached that he sounded his horn because he was afraid of the paynims. Roland shall never be

[W.T.,  
p. 88.]

Q 729  
Sum cor  
dimen

<sup>1</sup> "Phrydyaw"; Ch. de R. "il fraite e brisie", v. 723.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 61.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 62.

<sup>4</sup> There is a lacuna here in the Hergest MS. In a note at the bottom of page 88 W. T., Dr. John Rhys states that "Here a whole leaf is missing". Fortunately the Hengwrt MS. supplies what is lacking here. The lacuna comprises from stanza 62, v. 744a, to stanza 90, v. 1,065, of the *Chanson de Roland* (Gautier's edition), and is equal to 178 lines of the printed copy of the Hengwrt MS.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 90.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 91.

likened to a hunter as long as he can engage in battle. For a hunter need not sound his horn, save only to call wild beasts out of the forests. And as Roland ever did he will do again, he will deal hard and frequent blows with Durendard, cut horse and rider and the horse's harness all to pieces; break the ranks and smite them down; and tread in heaps the bodies left by Durendard. And do not again suggest so great a dishonour as that."

"I will not suggest it", said Oliver, "but whatever happens, either to us or to our companions, Oliver can never be reproached."

They<sup>1</sup> then approached their enemies. And their impending martyrdom moved them to tears, not because they were afraid of their death, and not because they were weak, but because of the kindly feeling and the attachment which either of them had for the other.

[W.T.,  
p. 89]

And Oliver addressed them, exhorting and rousing them to fight. "O ye flower of the barons", said he, "had I not in days gone by known by experience your faithfulness and your valour in many a battle, I would have reproached you for your tears, and would have said that they were caused by cowardice. And cease ye now from it. And let either of you forgive the other, if you have done any wrong, and have common friends and common foes.<sup>2</sup> And let not any one of you be afraid to meet his death while fighting for the heavenly country. For you will be leaving a brief life to enter into everlasting life."

And they all gave heed to what Oliver told them, and did fully as they were bidden. They were so elated with the glory and honour of fighting that there was not a single person there who wished not to meet death, provided that before death he might meet one of Christ's enemies.

And then Roland said to Oliver, "Now I know, beloved comrade, that thou art Roland's comrade, and art glorious with the pomp and circumstance of France."

And on a high mountain, facing the Franks, was Marsli, with four hundred thousand equipped knights. And he bade one hundred thousand of them advance against Roland's army. And they, encouraged by Marsli, attacked them valiantly. And those nobles descended the

<sup>1</sup> Welsh texts are unique here. See *Stengel*, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> "Bydwech ungar unesgar."

slope of the mountain and came towards the Christians, with the twelve compeers in front in fine array.

And the foremost of them was Marsli's nephew, with his uncle Falsaron by his side. And they divided their army into twelve battalions, and so in proper form they came against Roland.

On the other side, Roland and Oliver put their battalions in battle array. For they were well versed in the severe battles and engagements of the Christian life. And when the paynims saw them so well arranged and so ready, great fear came upon them, thinking that they were more in number than they really were, as the timid are wont to do. And then those who were in the front rank wished through fear that they were in the body of the host. But Roland and his host were unconcerned whether they were in the front rank or in the body of the army. His bravery, his hope, and his assurance only increased, he being no more afraid of the battle than a [w.t.,  
p. 90.] noble and fierce lion is afraid when he sets his gaze on gentle maidens. And he rushed among his enemies. And he said to Oliver, "Seeing that these nobles stayed behind with the intention of fighting, it is most right for them to fight. And whatsoever they will do, we shall fight and show them how to fight bravely in that we shall not betake ourselves to flight, in spite of any danger which may meet us. Let us show them our arms and fight them, that fear may come upon them and upon all who witness it."

The archbishop Turpin<sup>1</sup> went to the top of a hill close by him, and addressed the army in this wise, "O valiant barons",<sup>2</sup> said he, "remember that you are called Christians from Christ, and that it was for you that He suffered death. And so you ought to suffer death for Him, and thus have fellowship with Christ through your death. And as He prepared a fellowship for you through death, prepare yourselves to receive His fellowship for ever by fighting with His enemies. As many of you as will be killed shall be martyrs<sup>3</sup> and possessors of crowns in heaven. And, behold, we His vicars do absolve you from all your sins. And the only penance<sup>4</sup> imposed on you is that you do not flee, and that you deal many mighty blows."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 95.

<sup>2</sup> "A wyrda fenedic"; Ch. de R. "Seignurs baruns", v. 1127.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R. "Se vus murez, esterer seint martir", v. 1134.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. de R. "Par penitence eur cumandet a ferir", v. 1138.

And then<sup>1</sup> the men mounted their horses. And through the boldness of the Archbishop's speech they were inspired with assurance and courage, that they wished for nought but battle.

And Oliver exhorted them in this wise, "Why do we", said he, "wait for them? Let us rather forthwith attack them, and let us deal them the first blow. For he who shows a brave face at the outset of the fray is usually acclaimed victor at the close. Behold, here is the Mount of Joy. Let us ascend to the summit of this hill and call for the ensigns of Charles."<sup>2</sup> And forthwith they did so, and they shouted loudly at the accursed people, and approached them till their lances' point was among them. But the paynims retreated not, but waited for them.

† The foremost<sup>3</sup> of them was Falsaron, Marsli's nephew,<sup>4</sup> and he addressed the Franks in this wise, "O faithless Franks", said he, "to-day you will joust with us. Ill [W.T. p. 91.] has he kept you who ought to protect you, and Charles was a fool when he left you here to guard Roland to your own loss."

When Roland heard these words he could not endure it, but turned the point of his lance towards him and went for him as fast as his horse could go. And in his wrath he dealt him a blow with his spear with his full strength, until it pierced through all his armour and through his backbone. And he lifted him off the saddle and held him on his lance as an ensign suspended on high. And he threw him down dead and addressed him thus, "Perish, miscreant, and thine arrogance with thee. And Charles was not a fool,<sup>5</sup> nor I undeserving of the charge of his army. For he shall not to-day lose either his men or his glory. And, O ye mighty barons, fall upon the miscreants here. For God has given us the first victory over them. Break their ranks, pierce them, cut them in pieces, stone<sup>6</sup> them."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 96.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. de R. "A iceset mot unt Franceis escriet.

Ki dunc oïst Munjoie demander", etc.—vv. 1180-81.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 99.

<sup>4</sup> According to Ch. de R., Marsli's nephew is called Aelrot (stanza 99), and Falsaron is Marsli's brother (stanza 100).

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "Ultre, culverz! Carles n'est mie fols", v. 1207.

<sup>6</sup> "Llebydywch", from Lat. "lapido".

\* waiting period to 1188 ff - Ach...

And then<sup>1</sup> was Marsli grieved<sup>2</sup> when he saw his nephew's death. And he summoned his army and advanced in front of his men with the standard of the paynims. And he said that France would lose its glory that day at the hands of the paynims. When<sup>3</sup> Oliver heard that, he turned his lance towards him and furiously attacked him. And while he was uttering his boastful words, he pierced him right through with his lance, and through all his armour, that he fell down dead. And he addressed him thus, "Take thou this reward of thy vain boasting. And by such blows as these do we sustain the honour of the Franks. Trusty barons", said he, "fear not these miscreants. For they cannot deal death, but only receive it."

And then<sup>4</sup> Corsabrin, a cruel paynim, exhorted the other paynims in this wise, "O barons", said he, "fight bravely with the Franks. For there is not such a host of them but that we can utterly destroy them.<sup>5</sup> Their Charles avails them little to-day."

And when Turpin heard that, he spurred his horse in rage and attacked Corsabrin and pierced him through with his lance, and through all his armour, that he fell down dead. And he addressed him thus, "Thy words are false",<sup>6</sup> said Turpin. "Our Charles is equal to-day to what he ~~was~~ was at his best. And fall<sup>7</sup> ye upon them, our barons, and smite them down dead. For they are powerless. For the first blows promise you the victory. And in yonder army there is nor might, nor strength, nor heart." [W.T., p. 92.]

And thereupon Turpin shouted "Monjoie!" as loudly as he could. And the whole army gloried in Turpin's words.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 100.

<sup>2</sup> "Doluryan", from Lat. "dolor".

<sup>3</sup> For "Aan" read "Pan".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 101.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "Ceste bataille bien la poim tenir

Kar de Franceis i ad asez petit."—vv. 1238-39.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. de R. "Culverz paiens, vus i avez mentit", v. 1253.

<sup>7</sup> "Dygywdwch", from Lat. "decedo".

<sup>8</sup> "Ymoralw aoruc ar vryn llewenyd"; Ch. de R. "Munjoie escriet pur le camp retenir", v. 1260. Whether "munjoie" should be rendered "montjoie" (mons gaudii) or "monjoie" (meum gaudium) is a disputed point. In the W. T. the translator of *Roman d'Otuel* favours "monjoie"; cf. W. T., p. 49, "galw ar eu llewenyd"; W. T., p. 53, "galw ar fy llewenyd"; W. T., p. 54, "galw ar ei llewenyd". On the other hand, the translator of *Chanson de Roland* favours "montjoie", both here and elsewhere in the text. Cf. W. T., p. 90, "Wel dy yma vrynn llewenyd"; W. T., p. 93, "ymoralw aorugant ar uynydd llewenyd".

And thereupon<sup>1</sup> Gereint and Gerard attacked Malcabin and the Caliph, two valiant men of the paynims, as furiously as the feet of their horses could go, and neither armour nor anything availed them the least. They fell under the feet of their horses, and were trodden to death under the feet of the Christians. And in a short time armour was of no more use to the paynims to protect them from the blows of the Christians than linen single fold. And when Oliver saw that, he spake approvingly to his barons in this wise, "Our men are mighty. I know that those who cannot come to blows are eager to do so." And he<sup>2</sup> attacked one of the paynims and snatched him off the saddle and cast him to the ground dead as an accursed thing. And he addressed him thus, "Be thy trust in Mahomet. And thus does Mahomet protect him who trusts in him. He will recompense thee in hell for thy service to him here."

And immediately afterwards<sup>3</sup> he killed Estalmark, and cast him among the dead to render his soul to Pluto, whom he served.

And of the twelve paynim compeers<sup>4</sup> there were only two not slain, namely, Margarit and Cerub, and those were exhorting and encouraging their men. And each of them was a valiant knight.

And one<sup>5</sup> of them attacked Oliver and dealt him a blow on his neck with a lance. But it availed<sup>6</sup> him nought. Despite the blow Oliver was not shaken<sup>7</sup> off his saddle.

Nor did Roland rest from killing his enemies.<sup>8</sup> And he whom he wounded, or whose blood he drew, had no need of a second blow. And as long as his lance lasted, he made use of no other weapon. Fifteen blows he dealt with his lance, and at each blow he smote one dead. And when he snapped his lance, he drew his sword Durendard. And he attacked Cerub and dealt him a blow on his head

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 102-3.

<sup>2</sup> Hengwrt MS. supplies here, "Ac ar hynny engeler o wasgwyn".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 106.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 108.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 109.

<sup>6</sup> "Ac ny dygrynoes idaw dim." Cf. "Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit" (*Bruts*, p. 45); "Ac ny dygrynoes idaw namyn ychydic (sed parum profecit", Geoffrey's *Historia*, p. 7).

<sup>7</sup> "Ffrydyawd." *Karl. Saga*, "Ok kom hann tho Oliver eigi af hesti sinum" ("and he did not then bring Oliver off his horse").

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 110.

that he clave asunder both man and horse in full armour down to the ground. And he addressed him thus, "Take that as the recompense of thine iniquity. It is thus that Mahomet is wont to give to him who serves him."

And then Roland,<sup>1</sup> with evil intent, pursued them, and with such dash galloped among them that they were seen falling by his sword as harvest corn falls at the hand of a skilful reaper. And none of the Franks ceased from killing the paynims, following, as best they could, the example of Roland. And the archbishop Turpin was glad at that. And he addressed the men and expressed his approval of them thus, "Worthy are these men of their French origin, men who regard not their life here for the sake of the life everlasting."

And thereupon<sup>2</sup> Oliver pursued his enemies, having in his hand a piece of his lance, and with that he dealt Maustaron a blow on the edge of his helmet that it bent into his head, so that his brains and eyes were out of his head, and he himself fell down dead.

And next he dealt the paynim Torren a blow so that his lance-shaft was all in pieces. And Roland upbraided him for that, and said, "Not by the might of sticks are we to maintain the fight. And where is thy sword, Hauteclere?"

And thereupon<sup>3</sup> Oliver drew his sword, and said to him, "I needed only a stick to pursue the dogs."

And thereupon Oliver attacked them and dealt one of them a blow on the top of his head that the sword cut through him and all his armour and through his horse down to the ground in two parts, one on each side of the sword. And Roland said, "By such a blow as that know I that thou hast become my fellow. And for such a blow art thou beloved of Charles."

And with one accord they cried "Monjoie!" and all their men joined in the cry.

Then<sup>4</sup> Gereint and Engelier attacked Tunot, a paynim. And the one of them pierced his shield and the other his coat of mail, through his heart, that he fell down dead.

And next to that, the archbishop killed Fidorel, their wizard,<sup>5</sup> who by his incantations<sup>6</sup> betrayed them to death.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 111.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 112.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 113.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 114.

<sup>5</sup> "Eu dewin"; Ch. de R. "l'encanteur", v. 1391.

<sup>6</sup> "Y dewindabaeth"; Ch. de R. "par artimal", v. 1392.

And then they fought on both sides gallantly and fiercely. But the two armies were unlike in this respect, that the one army killed all they met, and the other army allowed themselves to be killed like sheep among wolves.

And then<sup>1</sup> Roland and the twelve compeers of France surrounded the paynims, killing them and smiting them, and compelling them to flight as best they could.

[W.T.,  
p. 94.] And when the paynims saw that they were vanquished by the Franks, they shewed the Franks their backs and left the field. And the Franks pursued them until they had killed a countless number of them. And the Franks rejoiced in that they had the first victory. But their evil fate disturbed<sup>2</sup> their joy, mingling adverse things with their success. For the press of enemies came suddenly upon them anew, and they were attacked while they were wounded, weary, and dispirited, and their weapons broken. Oh, God! great and irreparable was the loss that came to the Franks in that place, the loss of so many of Charles' nobles who perished there. It was here afterwards that the losses that came through the unfaithfulness of Gwenwlyd were made manifest. Well was he paid for his treachery.

Of the<sup>3</sup> hundred thousand paynims who came out to fight the Franks, not one escaped except Margarit himself, who announced to Marsli the slaughter of his men. He, with his sword unsheathed in his hand, with a mortal wound in his head, and with four cuts in his body, had left the field in a miserable plight,<sup>4</sup> after all the army there had been killed. And he said, "And if thou hast a knightly host ready, sire, now is the time for thee to send them, while the Franks are weary, bruised, and hungry. And if ever they can be conquered, now is the time to do it. And many of their knights have been killed, and their weapons are damaged.<sup>5</sup> And while they are in that condition it is most just to avenge on them the blood of our men."

And thereupon the paynims quickly donned their armour and put themselves in battle array. And<sup>6</sup> Marsli pursued them through a woody valley. And marching

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 115.

<sup>2</sup> "Cythrudyawd", from Lat. "contrudo".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanzas 124, 125, 126.

<sup>4</sup> "Digeryd" for "digarad".

<sup>5</sup> "Amparedic", from Lat. "imparem".

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 126.



in silence they came upon them unawares. "And' in this manner shall we attack them", said Marsli. "Let Grandon go with ten battalions on one side of them, and I", said Marsli, "will go on the other side with the ten other battalions. For Roland and his men are valiant, and it would avail us nought to fight on one side of them." And with that counsel they all agreed.

And<sup>2</sup> Grandon, with his ten battalions, went in front, and, at full gallop, they came upon the Franks and sounded more than a thousand horns. And that sound, foreboding their death, disturbed the Franks. And then they knew that Gwenwlyd was a traitor. And the archbishop emboldened them and cheered them. And he promised eternal life to all who would fight, and threatened hell to all who would flee. And all of them were encouraged by the words of the archbishop, and they preferred to suffer death than to flee. And having cried out "Monjoie!" they commingled with the paynims and dealt them blows. [W.T.,  
p. 95.]

And Clibor,<sup>3</sup> who was the most valiant paynim there, thereupon came out from his fellows and attacked Engelier of Gascony, and his lance found no impediment either in his coat of mail or in his weapons, until it was right through him. And he fell down dead to receive everlasting life.

And then the paynim victor and his fellows cried out, and reviled the Franks, and bade them break their lines of battle.

And then<sup>4</sup> Roland said to Oliver, "Great is our loss in losing the young knight."

"The vengeance possible to me", said Oliver,<sup>5</sup> "I will exact." And he turned his horse's head towards Cliborin. And he lifted up Hauteclere, red with blood, above his head, and dealt him a blow with all his might, on the top of his helmet. And the sword found no impediment, till man and horse were in two parts on either side of it, on the ground. And he ceased not till he had killed seven to avenge one.

And then<sup>6</sup> Maldebrum, the most wicked paynim, who was reported to have betrayed Jerusalem in time past, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 128.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 129.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 131.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 132.

<sup>5</sup> "Oliver" supplied from the French Text.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 133.

who committed murder in the temple—he, riding a fleet horse, attacked Samson and pierced both him and his armour through, so that he fell down dead, and his soul entered the everlasting life.

And the death<sup>1</sup> of Samson gave great grief to Roland. And he attacked his enemy, and, as they reap with a scythe, he dealt him a blow, cutting him, in his saddle, through his waist, following the girdle.

And thereupon<sup>2</sup> Malquidon, a paynim, killed one of the most valiant of the Franks, and his soul went to everlasting life.

And then<sup>3</sup> Turpin made an attack to avenge his man. And he struck off the paynim's head and left him in the saddle.

And thereupon<sup>4</sup> Grandon, the commander of the paynim forces, riding a fleet horse, attacked Gereint, and, with his sword, thrust through both himself and his armour, that he fell down dead, and his soul went to rest in heaven.

And then he killed Engelier,<sup>5</sup> his companion, that they might be companions in heaven, as they were in this world.

And then the paynims killed on the same side Brengar, and Gwimunt of Saxonia,<sup>6</sup> and with them Astorius.

[W.T.,  
p. 96.] And then the paynims gave a shout triumphing over the Christians. And as with one mind they knew that the paynims were overcoming them.

And thereupon Roland was moved to wrath.

And when<sup>7</sup> Grandon saw him galloping his horse towards him, he took to flight. And Roland lay in ambush for him and dealt him a blow with Durendard, so that man and horse were cut in two parts, one on either side of Durendard. And that blow gave joy to the Christians and grief to the paynims. And when their commander-in-chief was killed, they fled. And<sup>8</sup> Roland and his men pursued them and left them in heaps. For those who were killed there were much greater in number than those who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 134.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 137.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "Gerier". Engelier has been already killed, *vide* stanza 131.

<sup>6</sup> "Gwimunt o Saxonia"; Ch. de R. "Gui de Saint-Antonie". "Saxonia"="Saint Antonie", *vide* Stengel *in loco*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 139.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 142.

killed them. And thereupon the paynims became so discouraged that they could not hold their weapons in their hands. And then they sounded their horns, and with their horns they fought. And thus the battle was brought to a close. It was by the horns that they were wont to urge their men in battle.

And in this manner were the paynims killed. And the few of them that escaped fled to Marsli. Nor was there less fear of Roland and his host there than in their presence. And as long as Roland could see them he pursued them.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

And<sup>1</sup> when he saw no one near him, he found a black and weary Saracen hiding in a grove, and he caught him. And he twisted four rods and made four withes. And he bound him securely to a tree. And having bound him, he went to the top of a hill near him, and from there he saw many of the Saracens together. And he returned to the Vale of Briars, where all went who wished to pass by the gates of Spain. And he then sounded his horn, and gathered to him there about a hundred Christians. And with these he went back to where the Saracen was bound. And then Roland swore his great oath, that he would cut off the Saracen's head unless he came and shewed him where Marsli was and pointed Marsli out to him. For Roland did not yet know Marsli. And immediately, lest he be killed, the Saracen came and pointed Marsli out to him. And, from afar, he pointed out his ensign, together with a great red horse on which he rode, and the round shield he had. And Roland set his mind on him and attacked his army boldly with what men he had with him undismayed. And Roland perceived among them a man taller than the rest. And Roland attacked him and killed him with one blow. And they betook themselves to flight, here and there, up and down. Roland followed after them, killed them, cast them down, and crushed them. And he perceived Marsli fleeing. And Roland pursued him and killed him.

And not a single man of Roland's men escaped from that engagement. Roland alone escaped, and he, wounded by four lances, bruised with stones, and crushed. And

<sup>1</sup> At this point the compiler takes up the story as found in the Welsh translation of Turpin's *Latin History*, chap. xxiii, and follows it to the end.

when Beligant, the second king of the paynims, heard Marsli's shout when falling, he betook himself to flight and left the country.

Theoderic and Baldwin and some others of the Christians being terrified, were hiding in groves. And others had followed after Charles to the gates of Spain. And Charles had left the intricate and dangerous parts of the roads and had come to a safe place, without knowing anything of what was happening behind.

And Roland was exhausted by the press of the fight, in dealing heavy blows, and in receiving mortal wounds. And in that state Roland came through brambles and bushes to the lower end of the gates of Spain. And there he dismounted off his horse, under a shady tree in a fair meadow. And near the tree stood erect a huge marble stone. And he drew his sword from its sheath. Its name was Durendard, which is, by interpretation, "give a hard blow". And with words full of tears, he addressed his sword in this wise:—

"O, sword! the fairest and brightest, and the most comely in proportions, both in length and in breadth. Its hilt the whitest and fairest, made of whalebone,<sup>1</sup> and beautified with a cross of gold. And on its hilt is an apple of the fairest beryl, and its centre is of gold most precious. And written on it is the secret name of God, "Alpha et Omega",<sup>2</sup> the most victorious and most renowned point, endued with divine virtue. Who henceforth will handle thee? Who henceforth will be thy possessor? Who possesses thee shall never be vanquished, shall not be dismayed, shall not tremble for fear of anyone. He shall not be terrified by goblins' song or diabolic incantation, but will always, without anxious care, make use of divine power, being environed by power and spiritual aid. With thee shall be killed the Saracens who are not already killed. By thee the glory of God is exalted. O, how oft didst thou avenge the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ by killing paynims and Jews! By thee are truth and justice decided. By thee are cut off the members of those who steal. O, sword, the easiest to trust in! O, the best and the keenest of swords! O, sword, whose equal was never

[W.T.,  
p. 98.]

<sup>1</sup> "Asgwrn moruil"; Lat. T. "eburneo".

<sup>2</sup> "Alpha et O"; Lat. T. "A et Omega", Ciampi. Not found in Reuber. MS. 5714 "Alpha et Omega"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "A. Omega".

found nor ever shall be! He who made thee made not thine equal, either before or after. No one whose blood was drawn by thee, however slight the blow, escaped alive. If a knight, desperately weak through fear, or a Saracen, or a miscreant should possess thee, great indeed would be my grief."

And having spoken thus, lest the sword should fall into Saracen hands, he struck it thrice on the marble stone, so that the stone was in pieces all over the ground, the sword itself being unharmed.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

And then<sup>1</sup> he blew a blast on his horn to see if any of the Christians who were hiding in the groves would come to him, or if any of those who had gone to the gate of Spain would hear, that they might come before his death to receive his horse and sword, and pursue the Saracens. And thereupon he blew Olifant, his horn, so powerfully that he rent his horn in twain and burst two of his own blood vessels. And it is reported that he then broke the muscle of his neck. And an angel carried the sound of the horn to where Charles was, eight miles, according to the measure of that country, from the Vale of Briars, towards Gascony, where Charles was encamped. And Charles wished to return at once to help him. "Not so, sire", said Gwenwlyd. For he was privy to the death of Roland. "For know thou that the horn is sounded for a very little cause, and that he has no need of thy help. He is only chasing wild animals. And that is the reason why he blows the horn."

And at the advice of the traitor, nothing more was then said about Roland. And thereupon Baldwin, his brother, came to the place where Roland was crawling about and craving for water. And his brother could not find any anywhere. And then Roland besought his brother's blessing. And the brother then mounted Roland's horse lest it should fall into the hands of the Saracens. And he went where Charles was. And after Baldwin had gone, Theoderic came to him and heard his confession and instructed him to intercede with God. And Roland had received that day the Body of the Lord, and had made full confession to the priests. For that was

[W.T.,  
p. 99.]

<sup>1</sup> Ch. de R., stanzas 198-206, "The Death of Roland".

their custom the day they went to battle—to go to confession and to receive the Communion. And Roland turned his face heavenward and spake thus: “O Lord Christ, to maintain Thy law and Thy Christianity left I my country to come to a strange and alien land. And by Thy power and Thy aid, Lord, I have conquered many of the Saracens, and have suffered innumerable blows, buffetings, falls, wounds, jests, mockery, weariness, cold, heat, hunger, thirst, grief, and pain. To Thee, Lord, commend<sup>1</sup> I my soul. And as it was for me and all the Christians of the world that Thou didst deign to be born of the Virgin Mary, to suffer on the cross, to be buried, to die, to rise the third day, and to ascend<sup>2</sup> into heaven, which place Thou never didst leave without the presence of Thy power, so, Lord, vouchsafe to deliver my soul from everlasting death. I confess that I am a sinner,<sup>3</sup> immeasurably more<sup>4</sup> guilty than I can express. And seeing, Lord, that Thou art the most merciful Forgiver of all sins, and that Thou dost shew mercy to all, and that Thou seekest not,<sup>5</sup> Lord, from the penitent, save only to absolve him of all the demerit<sup>6</sup> of his sins in the hour he expresses contrition and returns to Thee, and that Thou didst pardon Thine enemies, and that Thou didst pardon the woman who was unfaithful to her marriage vows, and didst open the gates of Paradise to the thief confessing on the cross, refuse Thou not, O Lord, to forgive me my sins. And whatsoever sin I have committed against Thee, forgive it to me, and place<sup>7</sup> me in everlasting rest. For Thou, O Lord, art the Creator of all things, and Thou hast said that the life of a sinner is preferable to his death. I believe in my heart and will confess with my tongue, seeing that it is Thy will to take my soul from this life to the life everlasting. And the sense I now possess is so much better, as the substance is better than the shadow.” And taking hold of the skin and flesh about

<sup>1</sup> “Kymynnaf”, from Lat. “commendo”.

<sup>2</sup> “Esgynnu”, from Lat. “ascendo”.

<sup>3</sup> “Pechadur”, from Lat. “peccator”.

<sup>4</sup> “*Eithyr mod ual y mae kennat y dywedut*”; Lat. T. “*Ultra quam dici fas est*”.

<sup>5</sup> “*Ac ny cheissy di arglwyd*”; Lat. T. “*et nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti*”=“*ac ni chasai di dim ar a wnaethost*” (“and hatest nothing that Thou hast made”). Cf. Collect for Ash-Wednesday.

<sup>6</sup> For “Gogonyant” read “goganyant”, from “goganu”; Hengwrt MS. “Godyant”.

<sup>7</sup> “*A llehaa vi*”; Lat. T. “*refovere*”, Ciampi; “*fouere*”, Reuber.

his breast, as Theoderic afterwards narrated, with wailing tears he spake in this wise: "O Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of the Blessed Virgin Mary, I confess with my whole heart, and I do believe that Thou art my living Redeemer, and that at the last day I shall rise from the earth, and that in this flesh I shall see God, the Saviour of every soul."

[W.T.,  
p. 100.]

And thrice he repeated those words while taking hold of his flesh about his breast. And then he placed his hands on his eyes, and spake in this wise: "With these eyes shall I behold Him." And he opened his eyes and looked up to heaven. And he signed his breast and all his members with the sign of the cross, and said thus: "Henceforth of little worth regard I all things human. For now I behold what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered<sup>1</sup> the heart of man, namely, what God hath prepared for him that loves Him."

Then he lifted up his hands in prayer for those of his companions who had fallen in that battle. And he prayed for them as for himself, "For they came into a strange land to fight the Saracens, to maintain Thy name and the Christian law, and to avenge Thy blood. And they are here lying, having been killed by the Saracens, while fighting for Thee. And do Thou, O Lord, blot out the spots<sup>2</sup> of their sins and deliver their souls from the pains of hell. And send Thy holy archangels around them, to defend them from darkness, and to bring them unto the kingdom of heaven, there to reign with Thy martyrs, as Thou reignest together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, without death, without end. Amen."

And then, as Theoderic was leaving him, in that confession and prayer, Roland's soul departed from his body, and angels carried it to everlasting rest, where for ever and ever he reigns with the martyrs as he deserved.<sup>3</sup> And he was in this wise lamented: "Worshipper of

<sup>1</sup> "*Esgynmod yggallon dyn*," cf. Latin Vulgate "*in cor hominis ascendit*" (1 Cor. ii, 9).

<sup>2</sup> "*Mannau*"; Lat. T. "*maculas*". Cf. "*Mann geni*" (birth mark). "*A man oed yrwg y dwy ael, ac am hynny y gelwit hi Elen uanawe*," *Istoria Dared (Bruts)*, p. 12).

<sup>3</sup> Ch. de R. "*Deus li tramist sun angle cherubin  
Seint Raphael, Seint Michiel de l' Peril  
Ensemble od el seinz Gabriel i vint  
L' amne de l' Cunte portent en pareis.*"—vv. 2393-6.

temples. Augmenter of nations.<sup>1</sup> Sure remedy for a country's woes. Hope of scholars. Defence of maidens. Food of the needy. Discreet in mind and disposition. Fountain of judgment. Prudent in counsel. Gentle<sup>2</sup> in mind. Bold in action. Lucid in speech. By him was every man beloved. As a brother to him was every Christian. And to his fame let all that is fair in our knighthood minister."<sup>3</sup>

[W.T.  
p. 101.]

## CHAPTER XXV.

And when the soul of Roland was departing from his body in the middle of June,<sup>4</sup> a godly archbishop was singing mass for the dead, before Charles, and he fell into a trance. And he heard a choir of angels singing, and he knew not what it might be. And when they had traversed the heights of heaven, lo, there passed behind him an army as of men returning from an invasion, bearing their spoils with them. And the archbishop addressed them and asked them what they were carrying. "We are taking Marsli to hell", said they, "Michael is taking your trumpeter to Paradise,<sup>5</sup> and a great multitude with him."

And when mass was ended, the archbishop in haste told Charles what had happened. "Be assured", said Charles, "that it is Roland's soul that Michael is taking to heaven, and many other Christians with him. And the devils", said he, "are taking Marsli's soul to hell."

And thereupon, lo, Baldwin, Roland's brother, came to Charles and told him all that had happened to Roland. And he had Roland's horse with him.

And forthwith Charles and all his host returned. And Charles was the first man of the army to find Roland where he was, with face upwards and with his arms in the form of a cross, on his breast. And he made his lamentation for him with sighs and groans. And he wept and pulled his beard and hair by the roots, and with a loud voice he spake thus: "O, the right hand of my body! The finest beard that ever was! The might of all the Franks, their boldness and their defence! The sword of justice! The lance that was never blunted! The unruffled

<sup>1</sup> "Ciwddod", from Lat. "civitatem".

<sup>2</sup> For "gwan" read "gwar".

<sup>3</sup> This is not found in MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137; *Cod. Gall.* 52. It is found in Ed. 1835, as well as in the Latin texts.

<sup>4</sup> For "Mei ehun", read "mehefin". The action in the Vale of Briars took place on Aug. 18th, A.D. 778. See *Gautier*, p. xii.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. de R. "L'anne de l' Cunte portent en pareis", v. 2396.



coat of mail! The head-piece of joy! The helmet of warfare! Similar in glory to Judas Maccabeus, in prowess to Samson. Like in death to King Saul and Jonathan! The noblest knight and the mightiest in battle! The wisest<sup>1</sup> among the hosts! The destroyer of the Saracens! The patron<sup>2</sup> of scholars! The defender of Christians! The support of orphans and widows! The food of the needy! The augments of churches! Impartial in judgment!<sup>3</sup> The companion of all! The commander of the hosts of the faithful! And in one word, the flower, the confidence, and the valour<sup>4</sup> of all Christendom against its enemies.” [W. T.,  
p. 102.]

“And why did we bring thee to these lands? How can I look at thee dead? Why am not I dead with thee? Ah me, miserable! What shall I do henceforth? Live thou henceforth with the angels and with the martyrs. And mine is the mourning, the longing, the weeping, and the sorrow for thee as David mourned for Saul, Jonathan, and Absalom. Thou hast gone, and I abide here in restless grief.”

And with such lamentation did Charles mourn for Roland as long as he lived.<sup>5</sup> And he was thirty-eight years old the day he was killed.<sup>6</sup> And they pitched their tents that night where Roland lay dead. And Roland’s body was embalmed with precious ointments, namely, myrrh, aloes, and balsam. And great obsequies were made for him, with songs, lamentations, and prayers, with wax tapers and with fires and lights through woods and groves, through all that night, in honour of Roland.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

And on the morrow, when they had put on their arms, they went to the Vale of Briars where the battle was fought. And there they found some of their men lying dead, and others in a hopeless state, wounded unto death. And there lay Oliver, dead, with his face upwards, stretched out at

<sup>1</sup> “Doeth”, from Lat. “doctus”.

<sup>2</sup> “Mawr wr.” Hengwrt MS. “mawred”; Lat. T. “murus”.

<sup>3</sup> “Brodyeu”, from “brawd”. Cf. “brawdle”.

<sup>4</sup> For “chovynt”, read “ehovynt”.

<sup>5</sup> “Tra vu dyd”, “dyd” from “tyd”; Lat. T. “quamdiu vixit”.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence is not in the Latin texts, but it is found in MSS. 5714, 124, and *Cod. Gall.* 52.

full length,<sup>1</sup> bound with four withes fastened to the ground by four stakes. And he had been flayed from his neck to his nails both of his feet<sup>2</sup> and of his hands, and pierced<sup>3</sup> through with all kinds of weapons.

To relate the lamentation and the mourning there is impossible. For they filled the valley with the voice of their weeping and wailing.<sup>4</sup> And then the king swore to the Almighty King that he would not cease from pursuing the paynims until he overtook them. And forthwith they left that place in pursuit of them. And then it was that the sun stood still for the space of three days. And he overtook them on the banks of the Abra, near Saragossa. And he went in among them like a fierce lion that had been long fasting.<sup>5</sup> And after he had killed four thousand of them, he returned to the Vale of Briars, and he had all the bodies he had embalmed brought together and carried to where Roland's body lay.

[W. T.  
p. 103]

And then Charles enquired if it were true that Gwenwlyd had caused the betrayal of Roland and others of his men. And forthwith two men were put to fight a duel to reveal the truth concerning the matter, namely, Theoderic<sup>6</sup> for Charles, and Pinabel for Gwenwlyd. And forthwith Pinabel was killed.

And then Charles had Gwenwlyd bound to four horses, the strongest in the army, with a horseman on each, to drive them to the four quarters of the world, each of them one against the other, and so Gwenwlyd met his death.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.<sup>7</sup>

And they then anointed the dead bodies of their famous men all with myrrh and balsam. Others were salted with

<sup>1</sup> 'Ar y estym'; Lat. T. "in effigiem crucis extensum".

<sup>2</sup> W. T. "Breichen" (arms); Lat. T. "usque ad ungues pedum et manum".

<sup>3</sup> "Fenestru"; Lat. T. "perforatum".

<sup>4</sup> Ch. de R. "En Rencesvals mult grant est la dular", v. 2417a.

<sup>5</sup> This sentence is not found in Ciampi, Renber, MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137; Ed. 1835. It is found, however, in *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Adout leur courut Charle seure aussi coume le lyon familleus a la proie et ses gens ossi".

<sup>6</sup> Caxton adds, "And amonge alle other Thyerry accused and appeled hym of treason, and that he wold fyght in the quarel. For Thyerry had knowliche of the Sarasyn that Rolland had bounden to a tree."

<sup>7</sup> This chapter is shorter in Welsh than in Latin.

salt. And they were conveyed from thence. Some were buried there and some were brought to France.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

And there were two consecrated churchyards<sup>1</sup> of great dignity, one in Arles and the other in Bordeaux,<sup>2</sup> which had been consecrated by seven bishops. And in those were buried most of the dead bodies.

CHAPTER XXIX.

And Roland's body was carried in state<sup>3</sup> to Blaye, and was buried in the church of St. Romain, which he himself had built and to which he had appointed canons. And at his head was placed his sword, and at his feet his horn Olifant,<sup>4</sup> in a high place, to his honour, glory, and fame.

And this having been done, Charles gave twelve thousand ounces<sup>5</sup> of silver and the same quantity of gold byzants;<sup>6</sup> fine vestments; meat and drink without stint to the poor; the land and the territory for seven miles around the Church of St. Romain; the castle and the court and all that appertained to them; and the sea also. All these gave he for love of Roland. And he enacted that the canons of that place should not be subject to any secular service, save only that they should once every year, on the anniversary of his death, clothe and feed thirty poor people, on that night, for the repose of the soul of Roland; and that they should sing thirty psalms and thirty masses in honour of Roland and those who suffered martyrdom with him in Spain, so that they might be partakers of their crowns.<sup>7</sup> And they promised on oath to do so.

CHAPTER XXXI.<sup>8</sup>

And after that Charles came from Blaye to Vienna,

<sup>1</sup> "Ynnwent", from Lat. "monumenta".

<sup>2</sup> Supplied from Lat. T.

<sup>3</sup> "Yn anrydedus"; Lat. T. "super duas mulas tapeto aureo subvectum, pallis tectum".

<sup>4</sup> "Eliffant ei gorn." There is a distinction made in the *Chanson de Roland* between "le cor", which each knight had, and "l'olifant", which was Roland's peculiar possession. Cf. Ch. de R., v. 1059.

<sup>5</sup> "Vgeineu"; Lat. T. "unciis".

<sup>6</sup> "Vyssannen"; Lat. T. "talentis". A byzant is a gold coin of the value of fifteen pounds sterling, so called because it was coined at Byzantium.

<sup>7</sup> "Y coroneu"; Lat. T. "ipsorum coronae participes".

<sup>8</sup> The Welsh version omits chap. xxx of Turpin's *Chronicle*, containing the names of the famous warriors who were buried at Arles.

[W.T. p. 104.] and there he rested awhile, applying remedies<sup>1</sup> to his wounds and sores. And thence he came to Paris. And then he held a council at St. Denis of his princes and his bishops, in the Church of St. Denis, to render thanks to God and the saint<sup>2</sup> for the power and might He had given him to subdue the paynims. And he then gave the whole of France in subjection<sup>3</sup> to St. Denis, as the apostle Paul and the pope<sup>4</sup> Clements had given, who in times past commanded<sup>5</sup> the kings and the bishops to obey that Church and to give four pence every year from every house to build the church. And he set at liberty every slave who paid that tax. And he who paid it quite willingly was called the Frank of St. Denis.<sup>6</sup> And it was from this that country was called Frankland, which previously was called Gaul. The meaning of the name Frank<sup>7</sup> is to be free from servitude to any nation. For they ought to be above all.

And thence Charles came to the place called Aix-la-chapelle,<sup>8</sup> towards Liege. And there he had baths<sup>9</sup> made, which were always sufficiently warm, the heat never ceasing and the temperature duly and skilfully apportioned.<sup>10</sup>

And the church, which he had built to the Blessed Virgin Mary, he embellished<sup>11</sup> with gold and silver and all church furniture. And he had all the stories of the Old

<sup>1</sup> "Medeginyaeth", from Lat. "medicina".

<sup>2</sup> "Ar sant". Not found in Lat. texts, *Cod. Gall.* 52, MSS. 5714, 124, 1850. Found in MS. 2137, and Ed. 1835.

<sup>3</sup> "Yn darestyngedic"; Lat. T. "in praedio".

<sup>4</sup> Some of the old Fr. MSS. read "apostle" for "pope" (MS. 1850, MS. 2137, *Cod. Gall.* 52).

<sup>5</sup> According to the Latin texts and the old French translations, it is Charles who commands the kings and bishops to obey, and every householder to give four pence annually to build the church.

<sup>6</sup> The appearance of St. Denis to Charles is not recorded in the Welsh text. It is found in the Latin texts, the old French translations, and the old English translation of Caxton.

<sup>7</sup> On the origin of the name "Frank", *vide* Ciampi, pp. 131-138.

<sup>8</sup> "Dyfwyr grawn"; Lat. T. "Aquisgranum".

<sup>9</sup> Canon Williams forgot the other meaning of "enneint" when he translated it here "ointment".

<sup>10</sup> Lat. T. "aqua calida et frigida temperata". "He delighted, too, in the steam of nature-heated baths, being a frequent and skilful swimmer . . . . This was the reason for building his palace at Aquisgranum, where he spent the latter years of his life, up to his death." Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, p. 223.

<sup>11</sup> "Adurnawd", from Lat. "adorno".

Law written in it<sup>1</sup> on its walls,<sup>2</sup> in letters and characters of gold. And he had all that painted<sup>3</sup> in his own palace, and all of his battles in Spain, and, in addition to that, the seven arts.

#### THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.<sup>4</sup>

Firstly, grammar<sup>5</sup> was written there. For it is the mother of the arts, and it teaches how many letters there are, and how every word should be written and how many syllables there are in it. And by that art readers in Church understand the meaning of the words they read. And he who knows not that art, reads the words and understands them not; like a man who has not the key, knows not what is contained in the vessel while the lock on it conceals it.

Music was painted there which teaches the art of singing. By it the service of the Church is embellished and the singers learn to play the organ.<sup>6</sup> And he who is not versed in that art, bellows like a bull. The tunes and notes he knows not. But like a man drawing lines on parchment with a crooked ruler, so unskilful as that does he utter his voice. By means of that art was conceived all that ever was of songs for harp, violin, guitar and pipes. And yet it has but four lines and eight notes. And by these are signified the four virtues which appertain to the body, and the eight blessings of the soul. And it had its origin in the songs of angels at the beginning.<sup>7</sup>

Dialectics was depicted in the king's palace, which teaches a man to distinguish, and to express, the difference between the true and the false, and to argue about words and to understand them, if there be any ambiguity in them.

Rhetoric was there, and that art teaches a man to

<sup>1</sup> The first "ysgythru ymywn neuad" should be deleted.

<sup>2</sup> "Parwytyd", from Lat. "paretem" from "paries".

<sup>3</sup> "Ysgythru"; Lat. T. "depingo".

<sup>4</sup> This forms a part of the *Supplementa*, and is not found in the early Latin texts, but is found in all the old French translations, MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, *Cod. Gall.* 52, Ed. 1835. This supplement is found in Latin in Lambecius' *Commentaria de Augusta Bibliotheca Caesaris Indobonensis*, Bk. ii, p. 334. It is also quoted in the A.D. 1726 Edition of Reuber, pp. 121, 122.

<sup>5</sup> On "The Seven Liberal Arts", see West's *Alcuin*, chap. i, pp. 4-27.

<sup>6</sup> Lat. T. "Cantores . . . canunt et organizant".

<sup>7</sup> Lat. T. "Haec namque ars ab angelicis vocibus et cantibus divinitus in caelo edita fuit". Cf. Ed. 1835. *Ide* Job xxxviii, 7.

express himself fully, readily, and rightly. He who is skilled in that art will speak with eloquence and judgment.

Geometry was painted there, the art which teaches the measurement of the earth, the valleys, the mountains, the glens, the seas,—their dimensions<sup>1</sup> and their miles. And he who understands that art fully, when he regards the extent of a region,<sup>2</sup> will know how many miles, or how many furlongs, or how many feet it is in length and breadth. And so of any field, or place, or city, he will know how many feet it contains. And by that art the Senators<sup>3</sup> arranged the miles and the roads from city to city. And by that art the ignorant<sup>4</sup> husbandmen cultivate and measure their lands, vineyards, meadows, fields and groves.

Arithmetic was painted there, which treats<sup>5</sup> of the numbers of all things. And he who knows that art, when he sees a tower, however high it may be, knows how many stones there are in it, or how many drops of water there are in the cup, or how many pence there are in a heap of money,<sup>6</sup> or how many men there are in the army. And it is by that art, however ignorant they be of it, that stone-masons build to completion the highest towers.

Astrology was painted there. That is the science of the stars. By that art are ascertained fortunes and fates, future and present, good and evil, everywhere. He who is versed in that art, when going on a journey or desiring to do something else, will know how it will fare with him. If he sees<sup>7</sup> two men or two armies fighting, he will know which of them will prevail. By that science the Senators of Rome ascertained the condition of their men, in the ends of the world and the furthest regions.<sup>8</sup>

[W.T.  
p. 106.]

#### CHAPTER XXXII.

And shortly after that, the death of Charles was made known<sup>9</sup> to Archbishop Turpin. When he was one day

<sup>1</sup> "Ysbassen"; Lat. T. "spatia"; O. Fr. "espaces".

<sup>2</sup> "Brenhinyaeth", cf. "Animal kingdom".

<sup>3</sup> "Amherotron"; Lat. T. "Sanatores Romani". All the old Fr. MSS. have "senateur".

<sup>4</sup> "Dissynnwyr"; Lat. T. "quamvis ignorantes".

<sup>5</sup> "Traetho", from Lat. "tracto".

<sup>6</sup> "Yn y das ariant"; Lat. T. "nummi in uno cumulo".

<sup>7</sup> "Gwyl", *vide* Zeuss, p. 508.

<sup>8</sup> The old French MSS., and the Latin *Supplementa*, have an additional chapter on "Nigromantia".

<sup>9</sup> Lat. T. is in the first person: "Caroli mors mihi (Turpino) demonstratur".

before the altar in Vienna, praying and intoning prime,<sup>1</sup> lo, he fell as it were into a trance. And behold, behind his back, an army of knights, countless in number, passed by him. And he perceived that they were going towards Lorraine. And when they had passed by, he saw one like a Moor<sup>2</sup> following the others with slow steps. And Turpin asked him where they were going. "We are going", said he, "to Aix-la-chapelle,<sup>3</sup> to be at the death of Charles to take his soul to hell". "And I command thee", said Turpin, "in the name of the Lord Christ, to return to me, when your journey is ended, and tell me what was the outcome of your journey."

And they made no longer tarrying than would just enable him to finish the psalm, lo, they returned in the same order as they went there. And Turpin then said to him to whom he had previously spoken concerning their commission, "What have you done?"<sup>4</sup> "The headless man of Galice",<sup>5</sup> said he, "brought so much stone and timber that were in his churches and placed them in his balance.<sup>6</sup> And the good weighed more than his sins. And therefore he took his soul from us to heaven."

And thereupon the devil vanished away. And so Turpin understood that Charles had entered his rest by the aid of the apostle James, to whom Charles had erected churches.

For they had promised, the day they separated from Vienna, to send either to other, whatever happened to them. And when Charles was ill, he remembered the promise he had made to Turpin. And when he perceived that he was dying, he asked his own foster-son, a young knight,

<sup>1</sup> "Dechreu awr"; Lat. T. "psalmumque *Deus in adiutorium meum cantarem*"; MS. 5714 "e si auoia comence un sanma *Deus in adiutorium*"; MS. 2137 "Santier qui comence: *Deus, in adiutorium*"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "une psalme du psautier, qui coumenchoit ainsi".

<sup>2</sup> "Tebic i vlasmon"; Hengwrt MS. "tebic i vlewmon"; Lat. T. "Aetiopi consimilem", Ciampi; "Æthiopi consimilem", Reuber; MS. 2137 "plus noir d'un mor".

<sup>3</sup> "Dwfyr y grawn."

<sup>4</sup> Supplied from the Lat. T.

<sup>5</sup> "Y gwr or galis, heb af, heb penn arnaw"; Lat. T. "et daemon galletianus inquit: *Michael*", etc., Ciampi; "et Daemon Gallitianus inquit, *sine capite*", etc., Reuber; Old Fr. MS. 1850 "e il respondi; *Jagues de Galice*"; MS. 2137 "e il respondi; . . . *Jagues li apostres*"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "il me respondi errant: *un Galicien sans tieste*".

<sup>6</sup> "Taval", from Lat. "tabula".

to send the news to Turpin. And it was not sent for a fortnight after his death. And he was to tell him, also, that he had not been well either day or night since he came from Spain, and that they had honourably celebrated the obsequies of the martyrs who had suffered martyrdom there every year, while he lived, with gold, and silver, meat, and drink, and clothes, as was previously mentioned above, and also with masses, psalms, and requiem mass.<sup>1</sup>

[W. T. p. 107.] And on the same day and hour that Turpin saw the vision, Charles died, namely four days before the Kalends of February,<sup>2</sup> the eight hundred and fourteenth year of the birth of Jesus Christ. And he was honourably buried in the round Church of Lady Mary, which he himself built at Aix-la-chapelle, near Liège.

And it is reported that there were signs of his death for three years before he died—that the sun and moon were darkened for the space of seven days; that his name, namely “Charlemagne, the king of the Franks”, which was written on the walls of the above-named church, was effaced of itself; that the great porch which was between the church and the palace above mentioned, on Ascension Day,<sup>3</sup> fell down of itself from its foundation; that a wooden bridge which had been then for seven years over the river Rhine, and which had entailed much cost and labour in its building, was burnt to the ground of itself; that one day Charles was going from one place to another, on a dismal and foggy day, lo, he saw a blue flame as of a destroying fire passing quickly before his face from his right to the left, and he was frightened by the fire, and he fell off his horse on the left, and the hawk<sup>4</sup> which was in

<sup>1</sup> “Gwasanaeth marw”; Lat. T. “vigilias”; cf. W. “gwynnos”.

<sup>2</sup> “Chwefrawr”, from Lat. “Februarius”. The “chw” for “f” (=“v.” Welsh) is due to the influence of “s” in “mis” (month). “Misrebrar”. “sv.” (Aryan)=“chw” (Welsh), cf. “chweg”, cognate Lat. “suavis”, Eng. “sweet”; “chwys”, cognate Lat. “sudor”, Eng. “sweat”; “chwaer”, cognate Goth “svistar”, Eng. “sister”; “chwech”, cognate Lat. “sex”, Eng. “six”, old Celtic form “svex”, cf. Jubainville’s *Origine des voyelles et des consonnes du Breton moderne de France*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> “Diwren kyfarchafael”; Hengwrt MS. “durieu gyfachauel”; Lat. T. “die Ascensionis”. “Diwren”=“Difieu”, cf. “divyeu”, Stephen’s *Gododin*, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> “Hebawc”; Lat. T. “arcum”, Ciampi; arca, Reuber; MSS. 5714 and 124 “e una ascona que il portot en sa main”; MS. 2137 “par la regne qu’ il tenoit d’autre part”; *Cod. Gall.* 52 “et les resnes qu’ il tenoit en sa main”; Ed. 1835 “et un ymaige quil portoit.



his hand fell on the other side, and forthwith his men took hold of him and raised him up.

And therefore we are fully persuaded that he is a partaker of the crowns of the martyrs aforementioned who suffered martyrdom, in that he suffered with them.

And therefore he is given as an example, by which we are to understand that he who builds churches prepares for himself the everlasting life. For thus was Charles liberated from the bondage of the devils, and was placed in the kingdom of heaven by the help of the saints to whom he had built churches.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE DEATH OF TURPIN.<sup>2</sup>

And after the death of Charles, Turpin did not live but for a short time,<sup>3</sup> languishing, in Vienna, from his wounds, and pains, and bruises. And when he died he was buried there in a church near the city, on the further side of the Rhone. And there he was for a time. And in those days, bishops, clerks, and priests took the body of Turpin, in a coffin<sup>4</sup> honourably, vested in his episcopal robes, and brought him to a city the other side of the Rhone, and buried him in the church where he is still held in honour. [W.T., p. 108.] And he is receiving the crown of his kingdom in heaven as he deserved for his very many labours while he was on earth in avenging the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. And his elegy is above his head in fair and becoming glass.

And so ends the history of Charlemagne, and his exploits in Spain and in many other kingdoms where he spent his temporal life for everlasting life, fighting against the paynims and the enemies of our true Lord Jesus Christ, Who prepared a place for him in heaven for his labour in the world. Amen.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ciampi and Reuber (Edition, A.D. 1584), end here with these words:—"Explicit epistola Turpini ad Leoprandum. Qui legis hoc carmen Turpino posce iuvamen ut pietate Dei subveniatur ei. Amen."

<sup>2</sup> Found in Lambecius' *Commentary*, p. 337; Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137; *Cod. Gall.* 52; and Ed. 1835.

<sup>3</sup> All this is quite unhistorical; for Archbishop Turpin died some years before Charlemagne; according to some in 802, and according to others in 808.

<sup>4</sup> "Ysgrin", from Lat. "serinium".

<sup>5</sup> Hengwrt MS. and *Cod. Gall.* 52 end here.

“Explicit istoria d’ni Sarlim regis francie de actibus in yspania contra paganos et inimicos IHU. Xpi.”<sup>1</sup>

THE MIRACLE WHICH GOD WROUGHT FOR ROLAND.<sup>2</sup>

And among other things, it is worthy to recall to memory and to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, the miracle which God wrought for Roland, while he was still alive, before he went to Spain. When Count Roland had come to the city of Granopolis, with an innumerable host of Christians, and had been before it for seven years, a swift messenger came to tell him that his uncle Charles was besieged in a castle in the uttermost parts of Germania, and that three kings and their hosts were surrounding him and his host. And he asked Roland to come to his aid and release him from the paynims. And then Roland was perplexed about the situation, and was at a loss what would be the best course to pursue, whether he should leave the city for which he had suffered so much sorrow and travail, and go to deliver his uncle, or abandon<sup>3</sup> his uncle and lay siege to the city. Alas,<sup>4</sup> that a man so praiseworthy in all things, so full of gentleness,<sup>5</sup> should be thus perplexed between two fates. Then<sup>6</sup> Roland and his host devoted themselves, for three days and three nights, to prayer and fasting, neither eating nor drinking, to ask for the help of God, in this wise: “O Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father Most High, Thou who dividedst the Red Sea in two parts and leddest Thy people through the midst of it, and heldest Pharaoh and his host in it, who leddest Thy people through the wilderness, who destroyedst many of their adversaries, who slewest mighty kings, Sehon king of the Amorites,<sup>7</sup> Og the king of Basan, and all the kingdoms of Canaan, and gavest the land of their inheritance to the people of Israel. Thou destroyedst the walls of Jericho, without any human aid or skill, though

[W.T.,  
p. 109.]

<sup>1</sup> “Here endeth the history of Charlemagne, king of France, concerning his exploits in Spain against paynims and the enemies of Jesus Christ.”

<sup>2</sup> Found in Lambecius' *Commentary*, p. 337, the Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, and Hengwrt MS.

<sup>3</sup> “Dilyssu”; Lat. T. “dimitto”.

<sup>4</sup> “Owi aduw”; “duw”=“dydd”, lit. “alackaday”.

<sup>5</sup> “Gwarder”, from “gwar”.

<sup>6</sup> “Sef”, see Zeuss, p. 398.

<sup>7</sup> “A morrei”=“Amoriaid”.

it had been besieged by armies for seven years without receiving any harm, destroy Thou also, O Lord, the might of this city, and smite its power with Thine own mighty hand and Thine own invincible arm, that the paynim people who trust in their own native ferocity and treat Thee with despise, may acknowledge Thee to be the Living God, the King of all Kings, the Almighty, the Helper and Protector of all Christians, who with the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest, one God, world without end, for ever and ever. Amen."

And three days after they had made their prayer, the walls of the city fell without human aid. And when the paynims had been vanquished and had fled, Count Roland and his host set out with joy to go to Tiester<sup>1</sup> to Charles, and there, by the power of God, he was delivered from the investment of his enemies.

#### ALTUMOR OF CORDOVA.<sup>2</sup>

Here, also, we will relate what fortune befell Galice, after the death of Charles. When Galice had been for a long time in peace, being prompted, a devil arose, Altumor of Cordova, who said that he would bring into subjection to himself, under the laws of the Saracens, Spain and Galice, which Charles formerly took from his ancestors.<sup>3</sup> And when he had assembled his army together, he devastated the country, here and there, as far as Santiago.<sup>4</sup> And all that he found within it he destroyed. And further, he destroyed the church, and the books, the (silver) tables, the almonries, and the vestments thereof, and took away from it its ornaments. And when the Saracens had come unto the church with their horses, they dared to relieve themselves on the altar. And wherefore some of them by divine vengeance died of diarrhœa, and others lost their eyes. And thus was their commander completely blinded. And, at the advice of one of the priests of the church, he began to call upon the God of

<sup>1</sup> "Tiester"; Lat. T. "In terram Teutonicam".

<sup>2</sup> Found in Lambecius' *Commentary*, in Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, and Ed. 1835. For the true history of what happened, see Watts', *Spain* ("Story of the Nations"), pp. 51, 52.

<sup>3</sup> "Rieni", cognate with Lat. "progenies"; an instance of the disappearance of the Aryan "p" in Welsh words.

<sup>4</sup> "Iago", from Lat. "Iacobus".

the Christians to help him, in these words : "O God of the Christians, the God of James, the God of Mary, the God of Peter, the God of Martin,<sup>1</sup> the Almighty God, I will renounce Mahomet, if I may receive from Thee my former health. And never more will I come to the church of Santiago to its dishonour.<sup>2</sup> O James, thou great man, if thou wilt grant health to my eyes and to my belly, I will restore whatsoever I have taken from thy house."

And then, after a fortnight, when all things had been restored two-fold to the church, Altumor recovered his former health. And he left the coasts<sup>3</sup> of Galice, promising that he would never come to the country to do wrong, and proclaiming that the God of the Christians was a great God, and acknowledging that James was a great man.

And then he went through Spain, devastating all the land, till he came to the town called Ornit, in which was the fine church of Saint Romains embellished with the finest silks and books, with crosses and with other relics of gold and silver. And Altumor went and despoiled<sup>4</sup> that church also and destroyed the town. And when they had encamped in the town, his commander-in-chief went into the church, and he saw the stone column, the finest in the world, supporting the roof of the church, and the capital of which was all of gold and silver. He, being goaded by the prick of covetousness, took an iron hammer and fixed an iron wedge between the base and the column, wishing to demolish it. And when he was thus striking the column, with the intention of demolishing the whole church, he, by the operation of divine judgment, was turned into a stone. And that stone is, to this day, in that church in the form of a man, being of the same colour as the tunic<sup>5</sup> which the Saracen then wore. The pilgrims who go there are also wont to narrate that that stone has a very offensive odour.

And when Altumor saw that, he said to his retinue, "Of a surety<sup>6</sup> now", said he, "great and glorious is the God of the Christians who has such beloved ones, that, having departed this life, they nevertheless avenge malignity of this kind on the living. James deprived me of my eyes

<sup>1</sup> "Duw marthin", not found in Ed. 1835, MSS. 1850, 2137.

<sup>2</sup> "Amreint", from "an" and "braint".

<sup>3</sup> "Ternynn", from Lat. "termina".

<sup>4</sup> "Yspeilaw", from Lat. "spolia".

<sup>5</sup> "Pais", from Lat. "pexa".

<sup>6</sup> "Diheu", from "di" and "gau".

and Romain has made my man a stone. James, however, is more merciful than Romain. For James had pity on me and has restored me my eyes. But Romain will not restore to me my man. And wherefore let us flee from these lands." And thence, in fear and confusion, that paynim and his host took to flight. And none afterwards, for a long time, dared to disturb Santiago or its coasts. Amen.<sup>1</sup>

CHAPTER XXII.<sup>2</sup>

Here we wish to recount that when the presents and hostages were sent to Charles through Gwenwlyd, that forty<sup>3</sup> horses laden<sup>4</sup> with wine, the clearest and best to drink, were sent to the warriors, and a thousand fair Saracenes for their use. And that was in return for his treacherous promise as you have heard above. The chief men<sup>5</sup> of the Christian warriors, though they made use of the wine, made no use of the women. It was the other warriors who made use of the women.

And wherefore in this place it may be asked, Why did God allow those who had made no use of the women to die then, with those who made use of them?

It may therefore be replied, Because God did not wish those who were in good health to return home again, lest peradventure they should sin there more grievously. For He would give them for their labour the crown of the kingdom of heaven through suffering. Those also who sinned by means of the women He allowed to die. For God would take away their sins through the suffering of the sword. And it is not credible that the most merciful God would not recompense each one of them for their labours, namely, those who, at their end, confessed His name by acknowledging their sins. For though they committed their sins, nevertheless in the end they were slain for the name of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> End of *Supplementa*.

<sup>2</sup> The translator gives here a brief summary of the first portion of the xxii chapter of Turpin's history.

<sup>3</sup> "Dugein meirch"; Lat. T., Renber, "quadraginta"; Ciampi, "lx"; so MSS. 5714, 124, *Cod. Gall.* 52. Lat. T., Ciampi, "et lx equos vino dulcissimo et puro oneratos miserunt pugnatoribus ad potandum, et mille mulieres Saracenas formosas ad faciendum stuprum". The last three words are not found in Renber, Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, *Cod. Gall.* 52.

<sup>4</sup> "Pwm", from Lat. "pondus".

<sup>5</sup> "Gwyr mwyaſ"; Lat. T. "Maiores pugnatores".

And wherefore from their engagement in<sup>1</sup> battle is made manifest how wrong and dangerous is the company of women. For certain earthly princes, in times past, namely, the mighty Darius and Antonius, both fell in the company of their wives. Alexander conquered Darius and the Emperor Octavius overcame Antonius. Wherefore it is neither becoming nor expedient that women should be among the hosts in their camps, where incontinence should be eradicated, which is an impediment to soul and body.

TURPIN'S ELEGY.

Here lies Turpin, the Archbishop of Rheims. In heart, he was like a lion. No mean citizen of the faith was he. He was the flower, the glory, and the finest ornament of his country's affairs. In this Gallic tomb he lies, the honour of womanhood, a fit judge of the world, a very learned one. Death knew not that it took the finest among men. He was the home of counsel, and the pivot of the world. He, being faithful, entered into heaven on the Ides of April.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For "yny eu" read "ymywn".

<sup>2</sup> This elegy is unique. There is nothing like it in any other MS. published.

## POSTSCRIPT.

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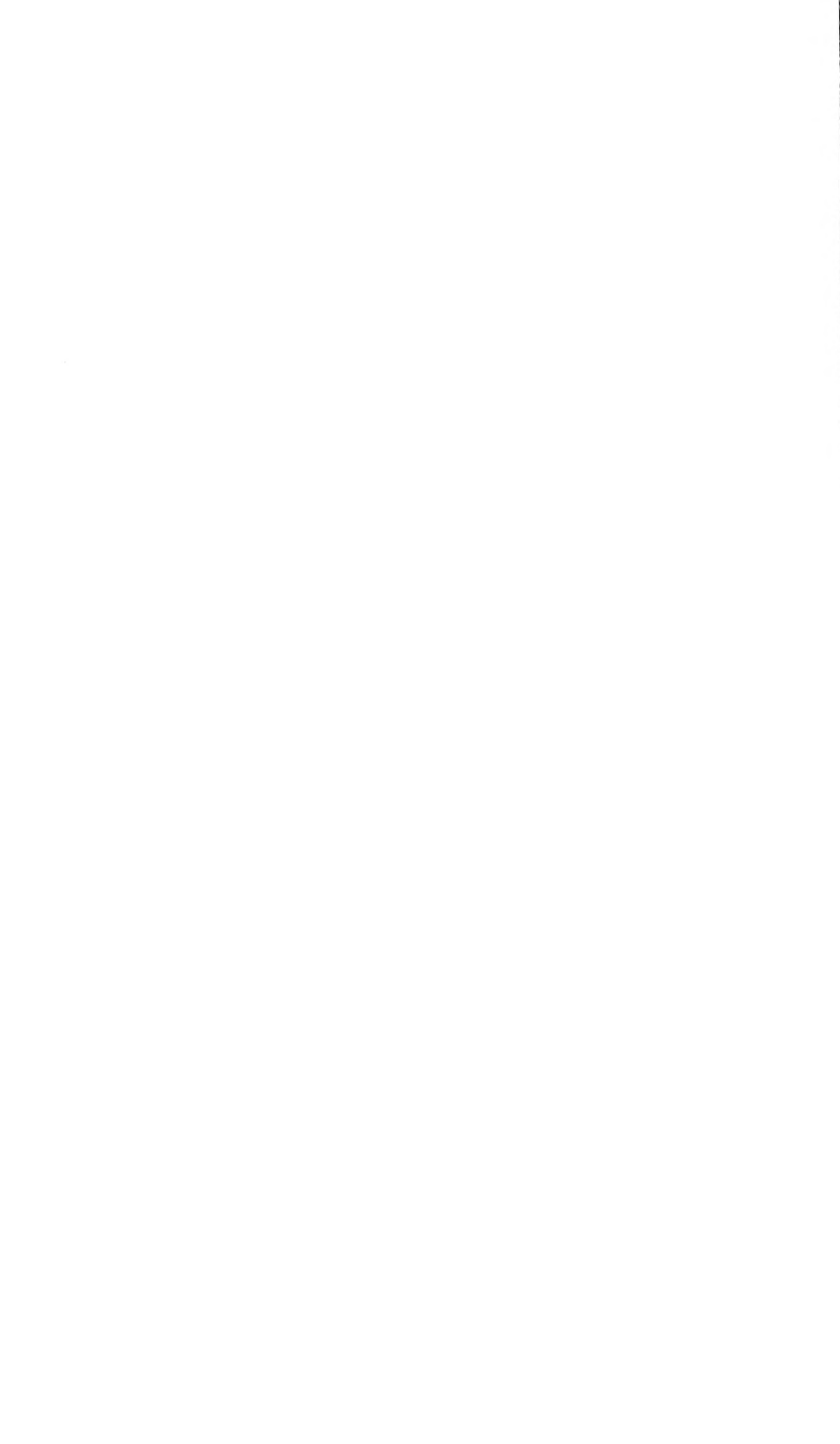
I wish to acknowledge with deep gratitude, and in sacred memory, the invaluable help given me in proof reading and correcting, by my late wife and former fellow-student, Mary Louisa Williams (*née* Carter), B.A. London; Scholar, Associate, and the first Lady Graduate, of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, whose accurate knowledge of languages, and especially of mediæval French, was always at my service in comparing the Welsh text with other texts, and whose love for the old literature of Wales—though by birth and early education and connection she was English of the English—moved me to translate this book in order that she might the better enjoy it.

R. W.











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